

JPRS 77409

18 February 1981

Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2268

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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MOROCCAN VIEW OF ACTION AGAINST POLISARIO ACTION SEEMS OPTIMISTIC

London 8 DAYS in English 24 Jan 81 p 20

[Article by Mary Gearheart: "Polisario Morocco: No Answers"]

[Text]

MOROCCAN sources claim that the end of the Saharan war is now in sight. They say they have almost total mastery of the air (although the Polisario says it has shot down 9 Mirages; the Moroccans admit to at least three losses) and increasing control of the desert terrain.

The main new factors in the protracted war are the new mobile columns — Ohud, Zallaka and Arak — whereby the Moroccans go out looking for Polisario guerrillas instead of waiting to be attacked, the arrival of Italian-built Chinook helicopters and, most important, a new French radar device which allegedly protects the frontiers with Algeria and Mauritania. Apparently this prevents Polisario guerrillas from crossing over. It consists of a wide ditch containing radar which detects the passage of enemy forces — the Moroccans describe it as a 'Maginot' or 'Bar Lev' line.

Other commentators claim that although this new radar system does exist, its use is far less widespread than the Moroccans pretend (anyway, the cost of installing it along all frontiers would be prohibitive). They say it is installed essentially along key routes in the Sahara, particularly in the valleys, to prevent the Polisario combat squads crossing from one mountain range to another.

Most military activity is concentrated in the Jbel Ouarkiz range of hills close to Polisario's Algerian base at Tindouf. The guerrilla movement has stocks of food, petrol and ammunition hidden in this impenetrable region, but Moroccan sources claim they are now flushing out this area.

Other commentators point out that Polisario attacks continue to be launched from the area.

Moroccans believe the new Reagan administration will be more favourable to them than the outgoing Carter government, and foresee no difficulty in obtaining the armed helicopters (Cobra gunships) and the OV10s which the Carter administration finally agreed to send after Polisario guerrilla units began attacks within Morocco's internationally recognised borders.

These weapons have yet to be delivered. Morocco is still dependent on its ageing fleet of American F5s and its new fleet of Mirages. Both planes are too fast for aerial surveillance and Moroccan pilots fly high to avoid attack by Polisario SAM-7 missiles.

On the diplomatic level, talks between Algeria and Morocco are continuing, but there is little to justify Moroccan optimism. The costs of the war are escalating and although much is paid for by Saudi Arabia, supplementary Moroccan military expenditure is said to account for \$2.4bn a year (about 40 per cent of the total equipment budget), a far higher figure than Moroccans officially admit.

One new element is the divergence of Polisario supporter: Libya and Algeria. There has always been some rivalry between the two and Polisario itself is said to be divided into two factions. Now Chad has exacerbated Algerian fears about Libya's intentions, and some sources claim that Algeria has prevented Libyan supplies from reaching Polisario over the past few months.

PLO SOCIETY PROVIDES HEALTH SERVICES FOR LEBANESE

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 7 Jan 81 p 6

[Article by Judith Perera]

[Text]

IN all the turmoil of the Middle East and the anguish of the Lebanese civil war, a little-known success story is that of the health service built up by the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Its Red Crescent Society runs eight hospitals in the Lebanon and is building more. And the Lebanese themselves, reports Gemini News Service, prefer treatment by the Society to that of their own health service.

ONE of the more positive things to come out of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's 15-year struggle against Israel is the development of what can only be described as a Palestinian national health service.

The service, run by the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS), is now providing basic medical care for many Lebanese. Since the civil war, even the rudimentary public health care once available in the Lebanon has ceased to exist and the cost of private treatment has risen astronomically.

For the poorer Lebanese, particularly the Muslim community, the PRCS is the answer to a desperate prayer. Statistics show that over the past few years, apart from one month in 1976, more than 50 per cent of the Society's patients have been Lebanese.

As a result, the Lebanese Health Insurance Company is now negotiating a formal agreement with the PRCS for treatment of its clients.

The Society was started to provide medical care for members of the resistance movement and their families and for the inhabitants of the Palestinian refugee camps throughout the Middle East. But its centre of operations is now Lebanon and it has long outgrown these original modest aims.

It has acquired eight large buildings in Lebanon and converted them into 100-bed hospitals — five in Beirut, one in Damour, one in Tripoli and one in Sidon. There are more than 300 full-time PRCS doctors, including many specialists, as well as dentists and nurses.

The Society also runs two nurses training schools in Sidon and Beirut (for staff nurses). The hospitals are well-equipped, if a little spartan. Two have kidney machines.

The Nasr Hospital in Beirut specialises in paediatrics and premature births and the Haifa Hospital, also in Beirut, deals with the handicapped.

Two purpose-built hospitals are under construction in Sidon and Tyre in the South. They are costing at least twice as much to build as usual because of special features which have to be included as a result of constant Israeli bombing raids and shelling.

They need specially reinforced roofing — at least one metre thick —

and several floors are built underground to house the more important facilities like operating theatres and intensive care units.

The PRCS also runs a network of clinics, kindergartens and mother and childcare services. Considerable effort is also put into preventive medicine through inoculation and health education.

But this, according to one PRCS doctor, is an uphill struggle, especially in the camps. She said: "The houses are small and cramped without basic amenities and there is no drainage or refuse collection."

The kind of cases the Society has to tackle vary according to the season. In summer, the common problem is gastro-enteritis, in winter chest complaints. In the camps some 40 per cent of the inhabitants suffer from malnutrition and anaemia.

During the civil war and the Israeli raids on the South, the doctors had to cope with injury rather than disease. At the war's height, the main preoccupation was amputations made necessary by the lack of antibiotics to combat infection. "We were more like carpenters than doctors," said one bitterly.

It is not difficult to understand why the Lebanese prefer this essentially Palestinian service. Those covered by

the Lebanese insurance scheme receive treatment free. Others pay a nominal fee.

Care of premature babies at the PRCS hospitals cost 10 Lebanese pounds (about 1.10 pounds sterling) a day, but medication is free. Equivalent private treatment in Lebanon costs at least 150 Lebanese pounds a day and medication is extra.

The PRCS dental service is also popular. The Society charges about 2 Lebanese pounds for filling a tooth. Similar treatment could cost up to 400 Lebanese pounds in the private sector.

But cost is not the only reason. The standard of medical and dental care is high, although the hospitals and other facilities are less luxurious than the private Lebanese ones.

Any death in a PRCS hospital is the subject of a court enquiry — a safeguard which does not exist in the private system.

But the Society faces growing financial problems. It depends on funds from international aid societies and occasional donations from the Arab states. It has no assured regular income.

Its hospitals are built or adapted piecemeal, as finance becomes available. Temporary use has to be made of whatever is ready at any given time.

Often 'temporary' can mean anything over two years. The Hamshari hospital being built at Sidon, for instance, needs three elevators. The Society does not even have the funds for one.

Yet for all this, the PRCS is providing one of the best health services in the Middle East. It is a matter of concern to many of its staff that the richer Arab states do not contribute more.
—GEMINI

CSO: 4820

IMPORTED MEAT WASTE IN MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSED

London 8 DAYS in English 24 Jan 81 pp 34-36

[Article by Nigel Ash and Annie King-Underwood]

[Text] A GENEROUS system of subsidies in many Gulf countries has disguised a growing catalogue of meat waste among imported livestock, caused in the main by simple neglect and bad organisation. The situation has become so bad throughout the region that Lloyd's underwriters now charge a 30 per cent premium to insure newly landed animals.

Private studies commissioned by local agriculture ministries have highlighted the carelessness and resulting waste, and set out at length recommendations for reorganising import facilities. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) publicised some of these criticisms in a recent report. After a close survey of the area it commented that with the exception of 'the excellent new facilities in Jeddah port' the serious 'lack of portside facilities for shading, resting and watering animals on arrival increases mortality'.

The Saudi stock facilities in Jeddah are reputedly the largest in the world. They were built after it became apparent that the facilities for the centuries-old livestock trade from the Horn of Africa were inadequate for the increasing volume of trade, brought on not just by growing Saudi affluence but also by the meat requirements of thousands of expatriate workers in the country. As little as five years ago, a consignment of 30,000 sheep was kept in a large shed without any feed and water. Though the animals had been sample checked by a veterinary surgeon upon disembarkation, there were no further checks while the animals waited for buyers. Saudi merchants obviously bought only their immediate requirements.

The Saudi resolve to tackle the weight loss problems has not been followed elsewhere in the Gulf where the sheer quantity of live animals imported each year (including over two million sheep) from relatively new suppliers such as Australia and New Zealand has disrupted traditional import patterns.

Bahrain in particular has experienced handling problems with Australian sheep. In 1977, the Directorate of Supplies and Price Controls imported around 1,200 cattle and 96,000 sheep. Between May and September most of these animals came off the arid Australian ranges in a fairly lean condition but were actually expected to gain one or two kilogrammes during the long voyage to the Gulf, during which they were given high-protein feed and special care and attention. A survey of one consignment of sheep found that when they were disembarked at Budayyi their average weight was between 45 and 50 kg. Three weeks later, the weight of the animals that still awaited buyers averaged only 33 kg.

Since the Bahrain government was paying for the lairage, as happened in Jeddah, the local butchers were able to buy their requirements piecemeal. There was no incentive to do otherwise. Indeed in June 1978, the majority of a consignment of Australian sheep stayed in the government lairage at Budayyi so long that officials had to cut the already subsidised price by a quarter to Bahraini dinars 15 (\$39.6) per head to clear the sheds.

In 1976, total Bahrain government meat subsidies came to BD491,745 (\$1.3m). A year later, they had more than doubled to BD1m (\$2.65m).

Although Bahraini officials have denied to *8 Days* that there are any problems with their livestock imports, as recently as last year a government commissioned confidential report was highly critical of the present arrangements and made detailed proposals for change. One of these recommendations was that the authorities should spend far more than they do now on feeding the stored animals a more substantial diet similar to the feed they had been receiving in transit to Bahrain.

According to the report, the mortality rate among sheep, which on board ship to Bahrain was 0.14 per cent a day, more than doubled at Budayyi to 0.32 per cent. Better lairage conditions and care could reduce this loss to 0.1 per cent. The report recommended that no animal should be kept in the lairage for more than 20 days and that around 10 days should be set aside to fatten the newly arrived herds.

It would not be fair to suggest that Bahrain's problems are anything other than representative of those faced by other livestock importers in the Gulf. All countries in the Arabian peninsula have varying degrees of subsidy.

Subsidies on meat, which in certain countries like Qatar are increased substantially during the holy month of Ramadan, have served to conceal extensive waste which in a purely commercial operation could cause the operators to increase their efficiency or go bankrupt. Among the costs that Gulf meat importers have to bear is the 30 per cent premium charged by Lloyd's when writing cover for the unloaded animals.

The loss of weight of animals in berth is one aspect of the story; the other is the loss

during transport. A Kuwaiti source has reported that in shipping sheep from Somalia to Kuwait the loss in live weight has been as high as 30 per cent, not just because of poor quality fodder and incorrect feeding procedures during the sea voyage but also because Somali sheep — the breed preferred in the Gulf — do not seem able to withstand the hardship of the journey and dramatic changes in climate.

Australian shippers on the other hand anticipate a loss of about five per cent and load extra animals on their huge transport ships, some of which can hold up to 50,000 head of sheep.

In East Africa, particularly Somalia and the Sudan, the Gulf countries' traditional source of live meat, the increased demand for meat is placing a strain on the whole system for exporting live animals.

Attempts to overcome the sheer physical problems of handling thousands of animals by slaughtering the meat and exporting it frozen or chilled to Middle East markets has not been the success that western orientated economists at the FAO expected. There are serious technological problems in maintaining refrigerated lorries and trains in countries like Sudan.

The FAO found recently that the stockyards at Somali export centres, run by the country's Livestock Development Agency were: 'without water supply and veterinary inspection yards,' and because of this neglect in maintenance and supervision were considered health hazards by the meat exporters who were supposed to use them.

In the Sudan, the Livestock and Meat Marketing Corporation (LMMC) does not have the same overall control over meat exports as its sister organisation in Somalia.

However among other facilities, the LMMC administers the large Kadero quarantine yards inland where the country's livestock is gathered for the rail journey to Port Sudan and the voyage, usually to Gulf countries. When an FAO mission visited Kadero in March 1979, they discovered 40,000 sheep awaiting shipment, many in a critical condition.

The World Bank is helping both Sudan and Somalia improve their livestock handling-- the rail bottleneck at Khartoum is being bypassed by a new road from Wadi Medani to Port Sudan. In Somalia there are plans for all-year berths for cattle ships.

At present much of Somali livestock, raised on the highland plains known as 'ogos', is driven north to towns such as Bender Cassim, Candala and Mayd which hardly qualify as ports since they have no berths. The animals are loaded from beaches by smaller boats which run between the shore and the dhows that will carry them to the Gulf markets. The FAO found that this was a highly uneconomic, wasteful, not to say dangerous, arrangement, yet it is the traditional way in which

Somali exporters have worked and in 1979 Bender Cassim, Candala and Mayd handled 80,000, 30,000 and 20,000 head of stock respectively.

Most livestock shipments from the larger East African ports like Berbera, Chisimaio, Mogadishu and Port Sudan are handled for much of the year by nine vessels owned by three Saudi companies, Nashar, Bakashab and Baaboud, which carry 8,000-16,000 sheep and cattle each trip.

8 DAYS asked Aboud Baaboud, a director of Baaboud, for his assessment of the losses through transport and disembarkation lairage of animals bound for Gulf countries.

Baaboud explained that his company imported stock from Somalia, Egypt, Sudan and Australia. On the Somali and Egyptian trips the mortality rate was between one and two per cent whereas on the short transports across the Red Sea from the Sudan, there were no deaths.

According to Baaboud there was no longer any delay in Jeddah. He insisted that animals were transferred from the docks to other Saudi cities, the same day, without needing lairage to restore them after their journeys.

The majority of other Gulf states seem to take the line in public at least, that no real problem exists. Yet agriculture ministries are aware that there is waste and at least two have commissioned investigations. 8 DAYS has encountered great difficulty in obtaining up to date statistics and assessments of Gulf livestock imports but it is apparent that many millions of dollars a year are being wasted because importing authorities seem prepared to pay out uneconomic subsidies which discourage good animal husbandry.

CSO: 4820

AUTO INDUSTRY SAID TO BE BOOMING

London 8 DAYS in English 24 Jan 81 p 43

[Article by Annie King-Underwood]

[Text] THE MIDDLE EAST is undergoing a boom in car assembly plants, in stark contrast to the declining numbers of motor manufacturers in the West. During the last five years, most Middle Eastern countries, particularly those with oil revenues, set up their own assembly plants as joint ventures with western vehicle manufacturers who realised that the area no longer constituted a ready-made market for their own products.

The latest joint venture was set up in Jeddah between Hino Motors of Japan — an affiliate of Toyota — and the Saudi firm of Abdullatif Mohammed Salah Jamjoum and Brothers. This new venture will assemble large Japanese trucks in Jeddah. In Saudi Arabia, 5 per cent of total imports (the biggest single category) in 1978 consisted of cars, buses and trucks. Due to the general lack of public transport in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East generally, a car is considered a necessity rather than a luxury.

Until the end of the 1960s the Saudi Arabian market was dominated by US motor companies; then Ford was blacklisted and the Saudi market was opened up to other motor manufacturing countries such as West Germany and Japan. The latter had captured 70 per cent of the market by the beginning of the 1970s.

In 1980, there were about 213,000 imported cars in Saudi Arabia. A fifth of the cars registered in the country were assembled locally with imported parts, but it is anticipated that by 1985 26 per cent of cars registered in Saudi Arabia will have been locally assembled.

In 1975, Saudi Arabia signed a contract whereby the Japanese company Nissan

agreed to assemble about 50,000 small transport vehicles. Another agreement was reached with West Germany's Daimler-Benz for the assembly of 6,000 lorries a year. Output of transport vehicles assembled in Saudi Arabia in 1980 represents 81 per cent of the commercial vehicles registered in the country that year.

On the other hand Kuwait, faced with a lack of skilled labour in the country, has resorted to investing in motor manufacturing companies abroad. Last June it bought a 10 per cent share in Volkswagen do Brasil for \$115m. In October it tried to increase its shareholding to 20 per cent. Kuwait also holds 14 per cent of the shares in Daimler-Benz.

Last October, the Kuwaitis departed from this investment policy and the National Automotive Manufacturing Company signed a contract with West German truck manufacturers Magirus-Deutz for a plant to assemble heavy duty trucks. This will start production at the end of 1984, and will have an annual capacity of 1,000 trucks weighing 19 tonnes and over. The cost of the plant is estimated at \$13.8m, of which Magirus-Deutz will put up \$5.5m. Units delivered for assembly will be worth about \$22.2m per annum. However the joint ventures set up in Kuwait are on a very small scale and will not satisfy any significant part of local demand, which is expected to reach the 127,000 mark in 1985.

Egypt was one of the first Middle Eastern countries to establish a motor vehicle assembly industry. The state-owned Nasr Automotive Company began assembling Fiat 125s and 128s in conjunction with Fiat of Italy and its subsidiary in Poland. At first,

all the parts were imported, but now 25 per cent are manufactured in Egypt.

Locally assembled vehicles represented about three-quarters of the country's registered vehicles last year — about 20,000 vehicles. By 1985, the number of vehicles registered in Egypt is expected to reach 34,000, of which 25,000 will be assembled locally. Recently Nasr changed its licence agreement with Fiat into a joint venture operation which, it is hoped, will improve the efficiency of the organisation.

Nasr also has an agreement with Magirus-Deutz for the assembly of trucks and trailers of between 5-8 tonnes with 60 per cent of the parts manufactured locally. This year, the production of lorries is expected to reach 4,000. Nasr also produces 1,000 buses a year in conjunction with Magirus-Deutz, for which about 80 per cent of the parts are manufactured in Egypt. It also assembles about 700 jeeps a year in conjunction with the Romanian ARO company. It is expected that by 1985, Egypt will no longer import lorries, as locally produced vehicles, estimated at 35,000, will satisfy local needs.

General Motors and Iveco, the multinational truck manufacturer

controlled by Fiat, plan to assemble lorries in Egypt. Negotiations between Volkswagen and the Egyptian authorities are also well advanced for an assembly plant in Egypt.

However, since the Camp David agreement and the subsequent Arab boycott of Egypt, all car manufacturing projects with Arab participation have been shelved. One of these was the Arab Industrial Investment Company's project to assemble lorries of between 6-8 tonnes. This was to be jointly financed by Egypt, Iraq and Kuwait.

Iraq has also set up extensive joint projects with various companies such as Volkswagen do Brasil — production is expected to reach 50,000 cars in 1985 — and with Savem of France and the Swedish company Scania for the production of commercial vehicles.

Most Middle Eastern motor manufacturing organisations anticipate some sort of agreement among the various states in the near future, in order to coordinate assembly processes and avoid duplication of projects.

CSO: 4820

PHOSPHATE PRODUCTION, PROFITS DISCUSSED

London 8 DAYS in English 24 Jan 81 p 44

[Article by Howard Schissel]

[Text]

ARAB PRODUCERS are likely to be the principal beneficiaries of the turnabout in the world phosphate rock market with prices again on the rise and excellent prospects for the rest of the decade. According to a recent report by the London-based Commodities Research Unit (CRU), phosphate prices are expected to rise by at least 20 per cent in 1981. This windfall will represent a substantial economic filip for the Arab world's main phosphate exporters — Morocco, Jordan and Tunisia — and to a lesser extent smaller producers like Algeria, Egypt and Syria.

Possessing some 75 per cent of the world's known extractable phosphates (40bn tonnes), Morocco theoretically holds a commanding position on the market. The state-controlled Office Chérifien des Phosphates (OCP) took a daring gamble in 1974 when the price of phosphate was forced up from \$14 to \$68 a tonne, but American producers pulled the rug from under Moroccan feet by flooding the market and setting prices on a five-year tailspin.

Now Moroccan economic planners have pinned the health of the economy on continued upward pressure in coming years on phosphate prices. OCP has embarked on an ambitious \$5bn expansion plan to triple annual production capacity from the present 20.5m tonnes to about 60m by the end of the century.

OCP Deputy Director Abellatif Guerraoui commented: 'This time we have it right. The US can already see the end of its reserves and it should husband what it has in order to avoid having to import expensive phosphate later'.

Planned increases in phosphate output and downstream processing over the next five years involve the opening of five new mines and two phosphoric acid plants, as well as the construction at El Jorf Lastar, 60km down the coast from Casablanca, of a giant new phosphate export port.

The Soviet-Moroccan 'deal of the century', signed in 1978, provides for a Russian loan and technical assistance for the development of two mines at Meskala and Benguerir in return for a long-term share of this additional production. Moreover, the Soviets have agreed to build another phosphate port at the southern town of Essauira.

Morocco reinforced its predominance over the world phosphate market by its occupation in 1975 of the phosphate-rich former Spanish Sahara. Although reserves are minor compared to Morocco's, the territory contains the world's largest open cast mine at Bou Craa. Industry sources told 8 Days that a freeze on Saharan phosphates — the Polisario Liberation Front has continually sabotaged installations — suits Moroccan marketing strategy as it prevents new supplies from entering the world market.

Jordan is the second largest Arab exporter, and third largest producer (an estimated 3m tonnes in 1980) behind Morocco and Tunisia. The state-controlled Jordan Phosphate Mining Company (JPMC) is planning to modernise the three existing mines — Al-Hasa, Wadi Al-Abyad and Er Ruseifa — as well as bring new ones on stream. The most promising site is at Shidiya, in the southeast. Known reserves are put at 217m tonnes and possible

additional reserves are pegged at a minimum of 150m tonnes. Preliminary studies carried out by JPMC are apparently quite favourable.

Jordan also intends to move on a large scale into downstream activities. Demand for a variety of fertilisers from industrialised countries remains very strong. Jordan is now building the world's largest single stream fertiliser complex at Wadi Two, south of Aqaba, scheduled to start production this autumn. The plant, being built by France's Spie Batignolles, will cost \$300m, and is being financed by Kuwait, Apicorp (the Arab Petroleum Investment Corporation), France and the World Bank.

After years in the doldrums the Tunisian phosphate industry is again poised for growth. The government plans to invest \$1bn during the coming five-year development plan (1982-1986) to double production capacity to 10m tonnes a year.

With an estimated 2bn tonnes, Tunisia possesses the world's fourth largest reserves of phosphates, trailing Morocco, the US and the Soviet Union. Tunisia's raw

phosphate rock is less rich than the Moroccan and Jordanian and, therefore, requires much enrichment to achieve a marketable quality. This partly explains why Tunisia (before the other two Arab producers) started to develop downstream activities. Compared to Morocco's 10-12 per cent, Tunisia locally transforms about 50 per cent of its phosphate production. (see *8 Days*, 17 January 1981).

In 1980, Egypt's production from its existing mines is expected to have increased only marginally to about 650,000 tonnes. The present decade should see, however, a major jump in Egypt's capacity as the Hamrawein mine comes on stream.

Algeria's production of phosphate rock again broke the 1m tonne mark last year, with exports in the neighbourhood of 300,000 tonnes. The rest was used to manufacture fertilisers for domestic use.

Syria's output has slowly risen over the past few years to reach 800,000 tonnes in 1980. Economic planners are hoping to stretch production during the 1980s to the million tonnes level.

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ALGERIA RECEIVES SAUDI MESSAGE--Algiers, 5 Feb (APS)--President Chadli Bendjedid, president of the republic, secretary general of FLN Party received a message from King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia. The message is a response to the one sent by President Chadli Bendjedid before he left Saudi Arabia at the end of the 3d Islamic summit last week. "The talks we had (when you were here) were an opportunity for us to confront our views over the situation in the Islamic world and [word indistinct] the faithful people," King Khalid said. The Saudi monarch assured that the results of the summit conference of At-Ta'if and the decisions taken there in order to settle Islamic people's problems over the world will strengthen friendly relations between us and brotherly countries. [Text] [LD051414 Algiers APS in English 1148 GMT 5 Feb 81]

GULF STATES FEDERATION DENIED--In a statement today to the newspaper AL-KHALIJ, well-informed Gulf sources in Kuwait have denied what the British OBSERVER newspaper reported yesterday: that the Arab Gulf foreign ministers conference, scheduled to be held in Riyadh tomorrow, will discuss a draft plan for the formation of some kind of federation among Gulf countries that will be similar to the Malaysian Federation. The OBSERVER had mentioned that Arab Gulf foreign ministers will discuss during this conference a draft plan which was approved by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, the UAE and Bahrain during the Islamic Summit Conference on the establishment of some kind of a federation among them similar to the Malaysian Federation. The well-informed Gulf sources pointed out that British quarters had leaked similar news concerning three plans for a federation among Gulf countries in 1976. [Text] [JN021118 Doha QNA in Arabic 1055 GMT 2 Feb 81]

CSO: 4802

ISLAMIC STUDENTS IN EUROPE SUPPORT IRAN AGAINST IRAQ

Tehran MIZAN in Persian 13 Dec 80 pp 1,8

[Text] PARS NEWS AGENCY--The "Swedish section" of the Union of Islamic Student Societies in Europe sent a letter entitled "Warning to the Iraqi government and international organizations concerning Iranian prisoners of war," in connection with the crimes of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime on Iranian soil, to the embassy of The Islamic Republic of Iran in Stockholm. The letter read as follows: "...The brave resistance and the revolutionary, crusading endurance of the Iranian Moslem people, including the Revolutionary Guards, the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Mobilization of the Oppressed, and other strata of the crusading people of Iran, in confrontation with Saddam Takriti, a filthy element tied to world imperialism, has really been a night of revelation before the dawn of freedom. During this night of revelation the anti-imperialist struggles of the Iranian Moslem nation attained a more revolutionary steeliness, and were tempered even more in this imposed war. Ultimately this revolutionary movement, which is firmly based on the historical reality of its own desires, will make clear to all that God wills victory to the oppressed of the imam and his successors.

"Infidel Saddam, with his ignominious defeat in the first stage, meaning his attack on the populated regions and cities, and even on hospitals, and then long-distance bombardment by ground-to-ground missiles and the slaughter of unarmed people, got support from his Zionist masters. He did not even stop short of capturing ordinary persons, and even kidnapped brother Javad Tondguyan, the petroleum minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and several of his companions, and sent them to the torture chambers of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime. At this time we announce to the sleeping consciences of the international organizations, including the Red Cross, the United Nations, Amnesty International and others, that brother Tondguyan and his companions and other Iranian captives who were arrested without regard to the Geneva Convention are now in Iraq's torture chambers. We hold the filthy Iraqi government and the inefficiency of the Red Cross and other international organizations responsible for any kind of injury they may suffer. The mercenary Iraqi government, the Great Satan of the United States and other international organizations should realize that we and the Iranian Moslem nation will never ignore this kind of behaviour. We announce to the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies that not only were they not neutral in this imposed war but instead helped the mercenary Iraqi government with all their power, and strengthened the filthy Ba'th regime in this war. They should realize that the Iranian Moslem nation will not be indifferent to these matters in the future."

'SEVENTH PLOT' SAID TO BE UNDERWAY HEADED BY U.S.

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 15 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

(Text) Heroic people of Gilan! Revolutionary forces! Maintain your unity and vigilantly foil world imperialism's new plot being headed by the United States.

Gilan Province organization of the Tudeh Party of Iran, in an open letter to the heroic people of Gilan and the province's officials, warned of an extensive plot that has been prepared by the counterrevolutionary forces and called for revolutionary unity among the people to foil world imperialism's new plot being headed by the United States.

With the failure of world imperialism's sixth plot, being headed by bloodthirsty America, that is the Saddam Hosseyn regime's military invasion of our revolutionary homeland, the execution of American imperialism's new plot has begun.

In recent days the heroic people of Gilan have clearly seen and continue to see the implementation of this plot taking place under various guises. So far this loathsome plan of American imperialism, which has prepared the way for a final blow to the revolution, has left several fatalities and scores of injuries in the Province of Gilan. These events, whose primary aim is to destroy the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran by sowing dissent among the forces of the people and weakening the leadership of the revolution, has unfortunately succeeded to some extent in distracting the public mind from the main enemy, "the Great Satan."

Heroic People of Gilan!

The Tudeh Party of Iran, which foresaw this plan of American imperialism just as it did the other plots of the enemies of the revolution and the Islamic Republic and has often brought it to the attention of the heroic people of Iran, gives warning again that the counterrevolution has spread a new front in a sensitive and dangerous time of war with the rapacious Saddam regime in our country. Some events which show the primary course of this plot or have cleared a path for its implementation, and which have been observed in recent days by the heroic people of Gilan in its various cities, are as follows:

Following one another in close succession were the incident at Khalif Mahalleh Shalman, which led to the death of one individual and the injury of several people, and events at Rudsar and Lahijan hospital.

The setting afire of the forests in Gilan in the areas of Rudbar, Asalem, Fuman, Lakan, Rudsar, Langarud and Lahijan and the forested areas of Rukuh, Magurkuh, Masal and Shanderman, which was called the work of counterrevolutionary vandals by officials. In light of forest management plans for the sake of paper mills and charcoal manufacturers, these acts of arson in this sensitive time have a direct relationship to the reduction in fuel supplies.

The transfer of a number of teachers to remote areas in Amlash (Rudsar) which resulted in the events of 10 Azar [1 Dec], that is, sit-ins, demonstration marches, gunfire and the closing of the Haftah bazaar.

The confrontation resulting from the ouster of teachers in Kalachai [Sic-Kalachah] and sit-ins, demonstration marches and fistcuffs between students.

Terrorism by three young night guards in Langarud on 14 Azar 1359 [5 Dec 1980] who have still not been arrested and punished for their crimes.

A short strike and obvious work slowdown of a group of workers at the Anzali port piers, when our country is under economic sanctions by American imperialism and the shortage of goods make it necessary that goods be immediately processed through the ports of Anzali, Astara, Nowshahr, and also Jolfa.

The attack on the revolutionary guards of Rasht in order to disarm them.

Minibus strikes on all East Gilan lines, associated with the distribution of automobile motor oil, on the pretext of there not being a shareholding system.

The dismissal with no reason or because of having progressive political tendencies of teachers who are aware and committed to the revolution within the province, which is in clear violation of the constitution and of government directives concerning the illegality of purgings and firings after 6,6,59 [8/28/80].

Laying the groundwork for closing schools in the cities of Rasht, Lahijan, Langarud, and Kalachai on the pretext of stopping teachers from unionizing or for other reasons.

Nocturnal thievery in the municipalities of Rasht, Langarud, Lahijan, and an indifference to putting a stop to it.

In addition to the noted items, which are only a part of the many incidents and events, the counterrevolutionary forces have directed part of their activities directly against the Tudeh Party of Iran, such as:

The destruction of bookstores and centers for selling the publications of the Tudeh Party of Iran in the Province. Such as burning the Afrashteh bookstore of Rasht and the seizure of its property by irresponsible people, and the destruction of a Tudeh Party supporter's bookstore in the village of Qasem Abad in Rudsar.

The detention of party comrades in the province and the attempt to take their obligations away from them by forcing them to abstain from political activities within the framework of the views of the Tudeh Party of Iran.

Expulsion and arrest of ordinary day laborers for the crime of promoting the politics of the Tudeh Party of Iran in the factories.

Heroic people of Gilan!

The Gilan Province organization of the Tudeh party of Iran, on the basis of incidents and events of recent days, announces that:

In carrying out the plans of American imperialism and those of its domestic agents, the so-called leftists and right-wing extremists alike have wholeheartedly participated and continue to do so, and knowingly have provoked confrontation and convulsion. It is most unfortunate that some of the forces whose place is in line with the people, having made grave errors in evaluating the situation, have in practice taken positions alongside the enemies of the revolution under the banner of "freedom!" while their hearts are overflowing with loathing and hate for imperialism, and they do not in practice resist and struggle against its plots.

Heroic People of Gilan!

The Gilan Province organization of the Tudeh Party of Iran, seeing that the present moment is a sensitive one and having a deep sense of responsibility for the splendid revolution of Iran, warns against the new American imperialist plot and proclaims:

As His Holiness Ayatollah Montazeri said in the prayer message of 14 Azar 1359 [5 Dec 1980]: "America wants to destroy this Islamic revolution every day in some way. Never forget this. Our greatest enemy is America!" The planners of recent events in Gilan have been American imperialism and its agents, the big capitalists and landowners, the liberals, the SAVAK, Maoists and Maoists-lately-turned-Moslem.

We ask officials in the province to avoid indifference and oversimplification and to protect the revolution from the counterrevolutionary forces with vision and precision

We proclaim that with unity of the forces of the people, and only with that unity, under the absolute leadership of Imam Khomeyni, the new American imperialist plot can and must be foiled.

Death to American imperialism, the foremost enemy of the peoples of Iran and the world!

Let the people form a united front for struggle against imperialism, led by America!

Victory to the heroic people of Iran's battle in defense of the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran!

Gilan Province organization of the Tudeh Party of Iran 59/9/23 [14 Dec 1980]

9310

CSO: 4906

ISSUE OF DISPLACED PERSONS CONSIDERED 'DANGEROUS'

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 1 Jan 81 p 8

[Text] The American military aggression of Saddam's regime against the soil of our revolutionary homeland has destroyed thousands of houses, killed hundreds of people, wounded a great multitude and drove thousands of struggling Iranians from their homes and lodgings.

Now that we have entered the fourth month of the military aggression by Saddam's American regime against Iran, according to what Mr Shokrollah Zeyn'ali, a representative in the Islamic Consultative Assembly [Majles], has said in an open session of the Majles, Khuzestan alone has one million war refugees. These one million people are among the majority of Khuzestan's workforce whose homes the enemy's bombardments have destroyed and who have been forced to migrate to other parts of the country. A large group of war refugees have preferred to go to other cities in Khuzestan. According to the statistics that Mr Zeyn'ali put before the Majles: "Of this number, 900,000 people are living in Khuzestan cities. At the present time, 120,000 people are living in Behbahan and Aghajari. Behbahan's own population is about 100,000 people, and Aghajari has a population of 30,000. As 40,000 refugees have come to these towns, this means that the population of this town has more than doubled."

The remainder of the war refugees came to other towns as well, such as Tehran, and have taken lodging here and there.

The reason for the scattering of the war refugees, as Mr Mostafa Mir-Salim, Deputy Minister of Interior, said in the Majles, arises from the following:

"In the Ministry of Interior, we did not foresee that a problem in the way of war victims would arise, and we did not have a special program in this case of what to do with one to two million war refugees."

As a result, the existence of more than one million war refugees in various parts of the country has brought about problems and difficulties to the point that "this matter has become dangerous."

As official reports and information indicates, half of the war refugees are under the protection of the government. In the first place, for these 500,000 Iranian strugglers, who are really victims of the crimes of America's imperialism, the

homes and lodgings in which they would spend the night are important. Furthermore, these dear fellow countrymen of ours have no place to live. Their children have also been deprived of the continuation of their schooling. Besides, the presence of these families in the other cities has caused, for example, the schools of Behbahan and Aghajari to be closed, and the everyday life of the people of these towns has been greatly disrupted as well.

After this, one must recall the decision of the government concerning the decrease in the stipends of these refugees by two-thirds.

In the case of the 500,000 people who are not on government salary and who are among the poorest and hardest working classes of the heroic people of Khuzestan, this situation is considerably worse. These struggling fellow citizens of ours, who have become victims of the crimes of America's merciless imperialism, have not even the slightest income and are really living in dire circumstances. Of course, the government and revolutionary organs have set up camps for these refugees and given some of them residence in the towns' hotels, but it must be said that these measures have not been at all sufficient.

Furthermore, more than one million citizens in revolutionary Iran living in such circumstances is not altogether worthy of the Iranian revolution. It is working full force against the revolution, too, so that [some] might profit by creating pessimistic images of it--for instance, the American Maoists, "Peykar", who, along with America, are plotting the overthrow of the Iranian revolution. They have infiltrated the war refugees and continually incite them.

All of these factors point out, as Mr Shokrollah Zeyn'ali has said in the Majles:

"If we do not investigate this matter, unseemly political and social consequences will follow. With the same force that we wage war, we must also investigate the war refugees."

In order to solve the war refugee problem--but appropriately--the government must immediately prepare statistics on them and, by studying the possibilities in various cities, they could be separated into different areas of the country, both so that all the people of the nation can have a part in helping their brave Khuzestan countrymen, and so that the swarming of refugees upon one town will not disrupt the life of its inhabitants. By way of example, in Tehran, thousands of houses which belonged to the "devils" such as Gharb--are empty, and there are many large hotels that, at the present time, have no guests. We can add to these possibilities student dormitories and other university housing. The war refugees can be given rooms in these houses and with the assistance of the self-sacrificing people of Iran and the government, the basics for living can be prepared for them and their children sent to school. Doubtlessly, these families' youth are prepared to take up arms in order to go to the front and fight to regain their homes and country from the transgressing enemy. In the case of the government salaried as well, serious attention to providing for their lives must be increased. Regarding the 500,000 who have no means of income, they must really be helped in securing their livelihood.

These are limited proposals, which no doubt can be carried out by the government and the rest of the responsible organs--considering the information and capabilities they have.

The Tudeh Party of Iran, like all revolutionary forces, is ready to place all its power at the disposal of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in organizing and carrying out this huge social task.

9614

CSO: 4906

STRUGGLE CONTINUES BETWEEN PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER

President Indirectly Accused of 'Plotting'

Tehran ETTALA'AT in Persian 18 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] From the day that the government was formed and the newspaper ENQELAB-E ESLAMI rose up to oppose it, we had hoped that this opposition newspaper would make accurate criticism and conduct a principled opposition in a civilized and Islamic manner. We had hoped that in this way it would make the government aware of weaknesses and deficiencies, and advance in the cause of pleasing God, serving society's interests and guiding the government.

But in the very first weeks, this newspaper's copy showed that weakening the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran was one of its operating directives, and thus our first hope changed into a basic expectation. That is, an expectation that the newspaper ENQELAB-E ESLAMI would employ civilized practices in attaining its basic goal, that is, the fall and overthrow of the government.

Unfortunately this expectation was also futile, and this newspaper's coverage demonstrated that its operators deemed the use of any method or means permissible in order to attain their goal.

Our silence in the face of ENQELAB-E ESLAMI's coverage until today (and which will continue from now on) was for several reasons, the most important of which obedience to the imam's command. This was because the attribution of ENQELAB-E ESLAMI to the president created a situation in which he [the imam] generally considered its writings to reflect the president's policies, and thus was fearful lest any kind of objection to the coverage in ENQELAB-E ESLAMI be interpreted as opposition to the president, and in these circumstances be misused by enemies.

Amidst all of this, recently we have faced the fact that ENQELAB-E ESLAMI, by applying its clever policy on reflecting events, has targeted the popular support of the present government, which, second only to the will of God and the imam's concern, is its only support. By creating an atmosphere of deceit this newspaper is now trying to suggest to its readers the idea that the government does not enjoy popular support.

In ENQELAB-E ESLAMI on Sunday, 21 Dey 1359 [11 January 1981] this sentence was clearly written: "Because the nation has lost its confidence in the government, it therefore sees no reason for unanimity with the government." It is the heart's

desire of the government's opponents that the nation lose its confidence in the government. But because they see that the nation believes in this government, they try to weaken the basis of this confidence by propaganda and suggestions.

It is our belief, God willing, that the vigilance of the heroic Iranian nation will neutralize this plot as they did other plots, and that the tricksters and liars will be disgraced before God and the people.

Public Relations of the Prime Ministry

Majles Deputy Defends President

Tehran ETELA'AT in Persian 18 Jan 80 p 4

[Text] In today's session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, chaired by Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Dr Yadollah Sahabi, while severely criticizing the government, suggested that a committee be separately organized within the Majles with one or two representatives from each group or point of view in order to eliminate existing disagreements and to examine reform plans. This committee would examine issues in the presence of representatives of the president and the government, and report its results to the Majles.

Dr Yadollah Sahabi, during his comments spoken before his turn, said: "The general conditions of the country are turbulent and critical, and the war imposed on Iran by Iraq has added to that turbulence. Yet in such a situation the government pays no attention to solving these problems. This heedlessness of the principles of governing a country, and to quote the prime minister, the inexperience of the governmental heads, and furthermore the expulsion of experienced employees, and the failure to use the views of reliable experts, has created uneasiness and anxiety among the people concerning the result of the war and the fate of the revolution and the Islamic Republic." He said: "In the midst of all of this, weakening the government is not in the country's interests, and the Majles must make up for the government's weakness."

He then made the suggestion to the Majles which was mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Mr Yadollah Sahabi then went on to say: "When the government was introduced to the Majles, I was one of its opponents. Without wanting to defend the president, I would say that clobbering an individual who has rebuilt a totally demoralized army and is today bravely fighting the enemy is not proper."

Then Mr 'Abbas 'Abbasi spoke, and said: "With all the respect that I have for Dr Sahabi, I regret that with all his years of service in the struggle, he has said such a thing. I will say no more."

He then spoke about the convergence of the Islamic heads of state, and while explaining the nature of this conference, said: Is this not a disgrace for Islam? In this Islamic conference, must its heads and organizers kiss the hands of foreigners? The Islamic states have many possibilities at their disposal but the governments

are obstacles to the desires of the Moslem nations. The Moslem nations pay homage to communism and capitalism because of their governments. One group kisses the hands of Carter and Reagan in order to strengthen itself, and the other group kisses Brezhnev's mustache."

9597

CSO: 4906

IRAN

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION LAUDED

Tehran JAVANAN-E EMRUZ in Persian 17 Nov 80 pp 20-21

[Text] There are no more several-million toman [10 rials] dowers. Competition in buying luxury and fun items has been eliminated. Reading has become a common activity. Unity has strengthened and extremism in food, clothing, and other areas of people's lives has been eliminated.

In order to find the answer to the question: What positive social, cultural, economic, and humane gains has the glorious Islamic revolution of Iran brought about? JAVANAN magazine's correspondents went to the people and spoke with a student, a shopkeeper, a government employee, a laborer, a homemaker, and others. The result of this investigation and research is as follows.

Government Employee

Ms Akram Hoseyn-Khani, an employee of Telecommunications said:

In my environment and among the people I have contact with, I see that attitudes have changed greatly. For example, women who are either fellow-employees or acquaintances say themselves that the revolutionary culture has greatly influenced their lives.

Question: In what way is this influence felt?

Answer: In the areas of clothing, makeup, and other areas. For example, some time ago, one of my friends got married very simply. That is, she went with her husband to the registrar's office and was married. In the past, she would never have thought of such a thing.

Question: Has this culture influenced your own attitudes and frame of mind?

Answer: Yes. Before, if, for example, I wanted to attend a wedding or a party, I was worried about what to wear. But now, there are no such problems at all.

The Opinions of a Student

Ms Parvin Tabrizi, a student, believes:

All standards have changed completely. For example, in the past, a dower was a problem. A girl with a larger dower had more prestige. But now, on the contrary, the smaller your dower and the simpler all the ceremonies, the more acceptable it is to the society.

Question: Have you confronted other positive economic effects?

Answer: Yes, very much so. At a party, all sorts of foods used to be served, whereas now we practice frugality. This is one of the positive effects on the financial situation of people. In the past, in order to maintain their prestige (i), some people were forced to borrow. Nowadays, there are no more latest model automobiles, European clothes, and Western attitudes and mannerisms. They have all been eliminated and if there is anyone who wants to behave like that, the society and dominant culture would not allow it.

The Opinions of a Retired Person

Mr Nasim, a retired employee, said:

Such excessive expenditures as previously existed no longer do and this greatly affects the economy of the country. Clothes have become simple. Nowadays, we have a situation in which when you are invited somewhere, you do not expect to be served chicken which is priced at 230 rials per kilo. A housewife previously had loose pursestrings, but now she makes just enough food, and when we have a guest, we eat less so that the guest can have enough. In short, the spirit of frugality has increased among households.

A Homemaker

Mrs Neda'i, a homemaker who lives on Afsariyyeh Street said:

My husband has a shoeshine stand on the street. From the beginning we have been frugal and now under the war conditions of our country we are ready to get by on bread alone in order to help the financial situation of the country.

A young lady in Taz'inat-e Saman claimed: After having studied for 16 years and my husband after 18 years, we are unemployed. I believe that joblessness and lack of money are the reasons for not indulging in luxuries.

In Stores

We went to several stores which sell decorative items and to a furniture store.

Mrs Fakhrolsadat Tabanfar, a seller of decorative items in Safaviyyeh Bazaar said:

Our sales since the revolution, especially under war conditions, have declined tremendously. In the early days of the revolution, sales were normal, but they gradually declined. Now they are quite small.

Question: What do you think is the reason for the decline in the sale of such items?

Answer: Under present circumstances, people are worried and anxious and think more about the country and its future; therefore, they have given up buying unnecessary decorative and luxury items.

Question: Have you made any changes in your family's life style in light of the revolutionary situation in order to adjust to your financial situation?

Answer: Well, in the family and among the neighbors, there were so many parties before, but now the number has decreased greatly. Cafes have closed and the situation is much better. But my sisters and I did not have big dowers and I was a strong opponent of all-night parties and serving drinks. For this reason, I gave up my family life.

We asked a young man who was sitting idly in one of the boutiques of this bazaar:

Question: Has the revolutionary culture and spirit influenced your clothing sales?

Answer: Our sales have declined greatly and I think the reason is the halt to money leaving the country and the import of foreign goods. For this reason, items which are imported are unbelievably priced. Another important reason is that the fashions of Europe no longer fit the revolutionary situation here. Therefore, we must bring in special clothes.

From here we went to Berelyan, a (fashionable) furniture store.

Mr Azizollah Eshaq-Beygi, the owner of the store said: Since 1978/79, business has slacked off and our sales have reached zero.

Correspondent: The items that you have in your store are very much in the style of the old regime. Now, the culture which dominates

the society precludes the purchase of such items. What do you think is the reason?

Answer: We make our furniture in a traditional style using national crafts such as inlaid work and engraving, but people do not recognize these styles any longer. Previously, individuals who went abroad and saw various styles in museums or stores came back to Iran and saw the same models and bought them.

Question: Why do you not adjust your work to fit the conditions of the revolution so that your goods do not cater to only one special class of people and then everyone could buy them?

Answer: This is my profession. My children and I are all experienced in inlaid work. Presently, since people's economic situation is not very good and activity has decreased, our sales have declined. On the other hand, those who have money are afraid to buy. In my opinion, the only solution for those who make light fixtures or stylish furniture is to either change their professions or conform their goods to the revolution.

Question: Do you think you will again have sales as before?

Answer: Those people who have retired and gone abroad and have transferred their salaries abroad, according to the new governmental measures, can no longer get their salaries abroad. God willing, they will sell their households abroad and return to the country--the same goes for those Iranians who have left their country. This should have some effect on our business.

Books and Reading

Another positive effect we intended to investigate in this report was the cultural aspects and the interest of the people in books and a deep understanding of issues. During the stifling period of the deposed regime, all good books as well as magazines and periodicals which contributed to the improvement of people were banned. But under the revolutionary conditions of our country, the sale of good books has greatly increased and bookstores have been revitalized. The number of bookstores has increased to such an extent that there is rarely a sidewalk where one does not see a bookstand. Another positive point is also witnessed, it is the result of the positive effects of books and reading. That is, the closing of the places of corruption such as dark and crowded restaurants, bars, and dance halls catering to a bunch of loose pleasure-seekers. For this reason, we visited several bookstores in order to interview several booksellers and readers.

First, we went to PISHGAM PUBLICATIONS.

Question: Would you please introduce yourself.

Answer: Fathi, owner of PISHGAM PUBLICATIONS.

Question: What is the goal of PISHGAM PUBLICATIONS?

Answer: We publish books in various social and political areas.

Question: How have your sales been since the revolution?

Answer: In the early days of the revolution, book sales increased by 50 percent. This wave of book reading after the revolution was without precedent. But presently, partly because of the war and partly since the universities are closed, they have declined, because most of our book readers were students. The economic crisis which exists in the society has reduced the percentage which had risen so much after the revolution.

Question: Mostly what sort of people buy books from you and in what areas?

Answer: Mostly young people and students buy books on politics and ideologies.

Question: What have your best selling books been recently?

Answer: "Nezam-e Talabegh" [The System of Theological Schools], "Gostareh-e Defa' az Shatranj" [The Spread of the Defense of Chess], "Man va Raha'i" [Woman and Liberation], and "Taleqani va Tarikh" [Taleqani and History].

Question: Are your publications connected with a party or group?

Answer: No. Everybody makes this mistake because of the name we have given our publications. They even wanted to break our windows several times. Seven years ago, this store was a liquor store. When we changed it to a bookstore, all the newspapers wrote that this was unprecedented. Therefore, at that time we chose the name for our publications.

Question: Can you suggest a way to attract those who are still not interested in reading?

Answer: Books and the press do not have absolute freedom. Suppose someone does read Sadeq Hedayat's book and commits suicide and someone else puts aside the negative aspects of a book and takes the positive ones. To attract people to books, there must be freedom of the press and books. We, as Moslems, must certainly read. For example, we must read Marx so that if we participate in a discussion we can actively point out his weaknesses and our criticism. We must

not be indifferent to the issues. Those books which are banned arouse the interest of the people. As a result, the intention of the authorities in banning such books has the reverse effect.

We went then to a bookstore which sold the books of the Mojahedin-e Khalq.

We asked the bookseller about his age, his profession, his sales, and how long he has been selling books.

Answer: I am 27 years old. I have had this bookstand for three years. I used to be a student. Concerning our sales, I must say that the organization's book sales have always been good. Before the revolution, certain books were sold, but after the revolution the directions were clarified and reading found a direction.

Question: In what areas do you find the most sales?

Answer: Obviously, after the victory of the revolution, people wanted books that would heighten their awareness and direct them. Concerning our sales, "Tabiin Jahan" (Interpreting The World) sells better and "Payam" (Message), which has just recently been published, has been scarce.

Question: What do you think about the cultural revolution?

Answer: The cultural revolution should have been implemented in the society, but not through bludgeons and J-3s. The problem could have been resolved by internal university councils and the councils of professors. It could then have been expanded and followed up. It is not possible to implement the cultural revolution in a mechanical and isolated way.

Behrang Furniture Store, located on Jomhuri Street:

Our sales have declined greatly since the revolution. The reason is the unavailability of goods and money in the hands of people. The decline is about 60 percent. The reason for the unavailability of goods is that our raw materials, such as fabrics, dye, and cloth covers, which are all foreign, are no longer imported. At the present time, we are putting up with it. But if the situation continues this way, we will have to change our profession, as many of those in our profession have done. I would say a quarter of the furniture stores have closed. At the present time, our only customers buy bridal needs.

Only the importers have profited, those importers who had full warehouses and who are now selling to the consumer.

A worker in an automobile showroom just had this to say:

Business has stagnated. Since we are salesmen and salaried employees it has made no difference to us.

A musical instrument store:

Sales are very bad, especially in our business of selling musical instruments, because at the present time people pay less attention to music. Previously, music was advertised a lot. For example, through orchestra performances, whether on television or in music halls. At that time, when you turned on the television, various singers were performing and this was some sort of advertisement. Also at that time, being a musician was regarded as a profession and it had supporters. But at the present time, none of these things exist and only a small number of true fans of music pay attention to it or those who have some background in music, and that is about it. At the present time, especially in the provinces, people would not dare to carry musical instruments for fear of being criticized. Under such conditions, the future of music is unclear. Presently, our customers have decreased in number by 70 percent and what they buy are mostly traditional Iranian instruments such as the hammered dulcimer, violin, and tar. The age group of our customers is not very clear either. All sorts of people from all age groups buy from us. With the decline in sales, we must wait and see how people buy in the future. We have a lot of merchandise. If the people do not support us, we will be stuck with the whole lot. My own opinion concerning music is that it is a creative act and I find it psychologically necessary. When nobody else supports it, even those who do will slowly give it up. At the present time, music classes are not doing very well either.

Veiling and the Glitter of the Past

Another issue which is discussed is that of our sisters, for instance, concerning the veiling of ladies, and this is very good because this truly shows the personality of the woman. In the past, when we went to the seaside and saw a woman unclothed, she held little value for us. But if we saw a face behind a veil, we enjoyed such purity. Her personality was enhanced for us. This enjoyment is much better and cleaner.

Previously, during that regime, our women placed a lot of importance on "looks." They tried to show that their looks were high class and competition ruined everything. But now, all of this has been eliminated. We hope that this idea will spread everywhere so that our sisters will not be worried about their dowries when they want to get married--to wonder how the things they buy will match up with the real thing. Now, she wants to be herself, to find herself, and not to make her looks high class. Another problem concerns the war, which, in my opinion, has been very necessary for our people since it has united them.

Mr Kohan, beauty supply salesman:

We are short on beauty supplies. We do not know if this is the result of the economic embargo or the government's refusal to import such items. In any case, the companies have little or no merchandise.

At the present time, our sales have declined by 30 percent. The reason is that the people have brought about a revolution and the ladies pay less attention to beauty supplies. Standards have changed. Of course, there is not much variety. Furthermore, people do not have much money to spend on makeup.

Mr Mas'ud Aminiyan, beauty supply salesman at Pinocchio Store, said:

At the present time, there is very little import of beauty supplies and when there is, since the rate of exchange of foreign currency has increased, prices have increased. Also, since there is insufficient merchandise and because of inflation, the price of beauty supplies has increased. At the same time, the circumstances are not conducive to the use of beauty supplies. Furthermore, we do not have many parties and in the workplace makeup is very simple. Public opinion, too, has changed and the ladies think differently. All of this has caused the decline in the sale of beauty supplies.

9593

CSO: 4906

IRAN

MONTAZERI INTERVIEWED ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN ISSUES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 18 Jan 81 pp 7,11

[Interview with Ayatollah Montazeri]

[Excerpt] For some time we have been asking the office of his holiness Ayatollah Montazeri for the opportunity to spend an hour with him to raise the various issues in our society and receive his farsighted guidance concerning them.

Finally, this anticipation ended when two days ago we were given the honor of a visit to his holiness. During the approximately one-hour visit, we had the honor of putting various questions to him. His holiness, Ayatollah Montazeri, answered each one of our questions patiently and, in truth, with an astonishing sincerity and open spirit.

Here is the detailed text of the interview with his holiness Ayatollah Montazeri.

ETTELA'AT: As you are aware, we have been witnessing the victories of the Islamic army in the past few days. What do you recommend for the preservation of this victory and what will be gained by it?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: My suggestion to the armed forces at the border is that they increase their coordination. The army, the mobilized forces of the people, the loyal tribes who are at the front, and the volunteers must be completely harmonious and must attack under one command. If they are to attack, they must do so together. If it is decided that the direction should be changed, they must be together. They must be informed about each other's conditions so that we will not have casualties, or fewer casualties, because harmony is our best asset. You noticed that in the beginning of the revolution, we were all united and followed one leader. This unity of our words and following decisive leadership was the secret to our victory.

At the present time, they must preserve this direction and in their duty their goal must be God. The soldiers, the pasdaran, and other groups must not fight to become heroes but to please God. They must

know that if they are martyred, their actions will have pleased God, and also if they are victorious.

I will quote you a noble verse of the Koran which says: You cannot expect anything from us but one of two good things. That is, if you are victorious, you have won, and if you are martyred, you have succeeded. If the armed forces fight with this spirit--God willing--they will be victorious. They must realize that the entire nation supports them. I do not believe that such a war has ever occurred before this (except at the dawn of Islam) in that all the people assist the armed forces with their lives and hearts. And the women in far-away villages provide clothing and food for the battle-fronts. Governments have always sent their troops to battle by force. As, for example, Saddam is presently doing in Iraq. But the fact that the nation is happy and thinks of victory even when its children are martyred has had no precedent.

ETTELA'AT: Many of our army brothers and those involved in the issues of war believe that your honor's telegram to the president has had a significant influence in instigating the expulsion of the enemy from our country. What is your opinion? Also, if you have any guidance for the continuation of this attack, please express it.

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: I do not know whether my telegram has been the cause, but the fact remains that from the groups at the front, many soldiers, pasdaran, and officers came to me and said: We are prepared to go forward, and we do not know what the obstacle is that prevents us from doing so. But when the Ahvaz incident occurred and a large number of our brothers were martyred, and before that were the incidents at Dezful.

I must mention that it is your duty to work hard and expell the enemy from the country. Now, I believe that our army and the pasdaran should go forward with faith in God and I hope that they will do so. However, perhaps this action requires some preparation which has now been completed. We hope that such attacks will be repeated and the war will end soon to the benefit of Iran and the people of Iraq. We are sure and we have been informed that there are Moslems in Iraq who want us to and have said that we must launch a real attack and they will assist us from within Iraq. They are waiting for us, for our army, to launch an overall attack. Perhaps--God willing--the government of Saddam will be overthrown and the people of Iraq liberated from him.

ETTELA'AT: Since the beginning of the forced war of Iraq on Iran, the traitor Saddam has used any sort of propaganda and insult against the Islamic Republic of Iran, pretending to be the oppressed one and asking other countries of the so-called free world to help him. Of course, because of this, other dependent countries in addition to his superpower masters have expressed sympathy for him. Noting the

falseness of the words and stance of Saddam, who instigates such propaganda and ruckus, should we, a country under attack and in the right, not ask for our rights and explain and define our stance to the world? In your opinion, given what has been mentioned in this sensitive situation, do you not find it necessary that a foreign minister be appointed?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: This is a vital issue, that we appoint a foreign minister very soon and through him activate our embassies abroad. In addition, about two and one-half months ago I personally told Mr Bani-Sadr that although Saddam has attacked us and forced a war on us, although he is the oppressor, he has indulged in propaganda (I read in a newspaper that he has dispatched 25 groups to various countries for propaganda purposes and to make himself appear the oppressed one). We the oppressed who have been attacked must dispatch some groups to make other countries understand that we are the oppressed ones in this war. I do not know whether he has taken any steps in this regard. Later, several groups left Iran, including Mr Hashemi who went to Libya, Syria, Algeria, and Lebanon; Mr Khatemi who went to European countries; and Mr Emami to Eastern countries. This was extremely necessary, but it should have been conducted on a larger scale.

Therefore, the appointment of a foreign minister as well as activating embassies whose job will be to introduce our revolution in various languages in those countries in addition to dispatching goodwill emissaries to introduce the revolution, our goals, and the innocence of the Iranian nation are vitally important.

We must count on nations, not governments. Nations are often with us, but we must make them more aware.

ETTELA'AT: In connection with the foreign policy stance of the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on "exportation of the revolution" and a multifaceted, worldwide attack against the interests of universal oppressors, how can we strike the basis of universal imperialism and weaken its interests?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: We must make the nations "aware." And this can be done through the embassies.

After the revolution, our embassies did nothing, except perhaps for a small number who worked well. If you remember, during the past regime, the duty of the embassies was to contact the foreign press. They also had publications themselves and would sell their corrupt regime to the nations. But we who have made such a revolution which the nations would support if they only knew, we should not remain inactive in this regard. It has always been our duty to be active and if we are so we will defeat the imperialists.

ETTELA'AT: The principle of the "unity of the Islamic community" within the responsible and revolutionary Moslem countries of the region and the world is one of the principles of Islamic internationalism, which has been clearly stated in the Constitution. In your opinion, what steps should be taken to first bring about this Islamic unity and second, as far as possible, make this unity a basic, long-term, unbreakable one.

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: The unity of the Islamic community depends on other Moslems as well as Iranian Moslems and Shi'ites not raising things which would cause disunity. I am not saying that, for example, the Shi'ites must set aside their beliefs, nor the Sunnis. But, for a human being to keep his beliefs does not necessitate attacking other sects or attacking those individuals who are held in respect in other faiths. This is wrong. And this is such an important thing that since two or three hundred years ago colonizing governments have raised the issues of tribalism and nationalism in Islamic countries. Especially after the Iranian Constitutional Revolution this issue of tribalism and nationalism was raised in all the Middle Eastern countries. Ataturk escalated the problem of Turkishness and Pan-Turkism in Turkey. Amongst the Arabs, they raised the issue of Pan-Arabism. And now Saddam is whispering about Arabism and that Khuzestan is Arabian and that what is Arabian belongs to them and they want to defend it, that the three islands are Arab islands and such nonsense. In Iran, too, there was the issue of Pan-Iranianism. This was a trap.

In Islam, the issues of nationalism and tribalism do not exist. In Islam, piety is the standard for the superiority of individual human beings. God Almighty says: Oh people, the fact that we have divided you into branches and tribes is not because of superiority, it is to distinguish you. Otherwise, the worthiest among you before God is he who is most pious.

In Islam, there is no such thing as the problem of language, color, or geography. We Moslems must note that those who whisper of tribalism, nationalism, language, geography, etc. are raising issues which are not in harmony with the spirit of Islam.

Therefore, for the unity of Moslems, in the first place, Moslems and various sects must not attack each other. Of course, as I mentioned, this does not mean that they should give up their faiths. They do not need to give up their faiths, but they should not attack each other and be deceived by this tribalistic and nationalistic propaganda. They must know that there is brotherhood in Islam. A black Ethiopian Moslem and a Persian Iranian Moslem are brothers. An Arab Moslem, a Turkish Moslem, and a French Moslem are brothers. This decree of Islam must be noted so that evil propaganda will not have an effect.

ETTELA'AT: Once in a while it is heard that politics should be neither Eastern nor Western, that is, "neither American nor Russian." If we establish relations with Western Europe and Japan (which, of course, are imperialists in the camp of American imperialism), do you think this would be a correct interpretation of "neither Eastern nor Western"?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: "Neither Eastern nor Western" does not mean that we should buy neither from the United States nor the Soviet Union. It means that our relations with them should not be that of oppressor and oppressed so that they (the United States and the Soviet Union) can colonize us.

We want to be neither a Soviet nor an American satellite. But, if relations are friendly, when they do not interfere in our affairs, we can have commercial and economic relations with either the Americans or the Russians. Nobody will find anything wrong with that. What is important is that we not be dependent. We should try not to be dependent. Now, if we become dependent on Japan, that would be wrong, too. Dependence is wrong in general. Otherwise, if we stand on our own feet, and if we have shortages, we will buy the things we need from any place in the world, even from the United States and the Soviet Union, on the condition that this commercial relationship will not result in political and economic colonialization.

ETTELA'AT: Now everyone is talking about the problem of obtaining arms, and there is no doubt that we must do so, but the differences of opinion concern the sources. Considering the limited sources of arms, especially sophisticated arms, how and where should we obtain these arms?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: In the first place, God Almighty instructs Moslems in the Koran: It is imperative for you Moslems to prepare yourselves against the enemy. Hence, in the first place, Moslems themselves should try to create and invent arms. The Iranian youth and the Moslem Iraqi youth and those of other Moslem countries are by no means inferior in intelligence to Americans or Europeans. If they demonstrate their creativity, they can be intentors. In the first place, we must try to awaken the spirit of creativity in ourselves for our needs (whether arms or other things). We have scientists who, if they come together, can both provide nourishment for our universities and can also set creativity and industry to work. We must gather these scientists together in a science academy in which there are scientists and scholars in various fields and the government should provide them with a large budget (whatever they need). If we want our universities to be neither Eastern nor Western, they need scientific nourishment.

ETTELA'AT: It was announced recently that an Islamic Conference will be held by the countries in the region. Do you think that if Saddam does not participate in this conference we should participate?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: If Saddam does not participate, I believe that it is necessary for us to attend. We should not always sulk. We should go there, explain our position, and make them understand it. Even if they do not listen, at least there will be foreign correspondents there. Finally, in that conference, the foreign individuals and correspondents will understand that this war was forced upon us. We should go there to show that we are the oppressed. At least the foreign correspondents will listen to us.

Therefore, if Saddam does not participate in this conference, in my opinion it is imperative that we attend.

ETTELA'AT: Do you think the differences among the people in our government are short term or are these differences the result of different understandings of Islam? In any case, what is the solution?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: In my opinion, many of these differences are based on misunderstandings. In short, if they sit down together to solve their problems, it would be in the interest of our revolution. In the same way that in the beginning of the revolution we were all united, we had no differences and we acted in harmony, once again we must act in harmony for the progress of our revolution. I personally suffer because of this problem. Also, there are some important figures who have been commissioned by the imam to bring these two groups closer together and we hope they will succeed. Perhaps--God willing--after the victory of this war, they will sit down and resolve their differences. Perhaps they cannot find the opportunity now.

ETTELA'AT: What should the Islamic government do with the land of landowners who had obtained the land illegally, by force or because they had connections with the past regime? To what extent could the Government of Religious Jurists guide in this, especially taking into consideration what the imam said: "Ownership is only legal when it is not through usury and subjugation"?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: This does not require the Government of Religious Jurists. Religious jurisprudence serves to implement the government. In fact, possessions obtained illegally or through usury, or the lands, for instance, belonging to the Islamic government which have been registered in private names, these should all be cancelled. There are those who have taken such lands or have sold rocky land, such as the land in north Tehran, for 30-40,000 rials per square meter. They should not have done so. These lands should be reclaimed. (It is so stated in the Constitution.) Or, if someone

has obtained plots of land through illegal acts or has taken them away from others, the Islamic government must take them back and return them to those people. If the rightful owner is unknown, they will become the property of the government and the government should use them for the welfare of Moslems.

ETTELA'AT: Mr Beheshti has said that the land reform plan is based on one of the Articles of the Constitution which says that it is the government's duty to facilitate producers and that land is one of the things which can be provided. What is your holiness' opinion?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: According to the land reform, facilities must be provided for the people in order for them to revitalize unproductive lands.

You will notice that presently two-thirds of our arable land is unproductive and 80 percent of the country's water is wasted; likewise, 90 percent of our natural resources and mines are untapped. Attempts should be made to gradually facilitate the people's revitalizing the lands.

In this way, our economic shortages will be eliminated. In short, if we are economically independent, especially in the area of raw materials, no matter what, we will become independent. Raw materials are very important to us. When we have raw materials, our technicians can gradually improve our industries and mining. Only a country which does not need others for its raw materials can say that it stands on its own feet. Thank God we have the raw materials. We have land, water, and natural resources. But we are short of human resources and I am proposing to the Cultural Revolution Committee that they work as quickly as possible to reopen our universities so that they can begin their activities. Of course, their methodology should not be that of before.

ETTELA'AT: The bank authorities of the country say that in our system there is no "usury." Do you think this is true or not?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: No, that is incorrect. I have said many times that the banking system should be reformed. Only they say that they cannot do it now.

ETTELA'AT: In the bazaars, "hidden usury" is widespread. How can we eliminate this problem?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: Yes, there is usury and I am aware that usury is forbidden, and the Quran emphasizes this widely. (In the Koran two of the forbidden things are greatly emphasized.) It is likened to war against God. The first forbidden thing is for a human being to make himself dependent on infidels and dualists. This is what the

previous regime did, that is, it wanted the Islamic countries to have secret dealings with the infidels and dualists.

Another is usury. God regards usury as a war against Himself and His Prophet. Bank is originally an English word meaning seashore. Previously, on the banks of the seas and rivers there were establishments which facilitated foreign exchange. Money going from one country to another in foreign exchange is necessary. Well, the citizens of one country travel to other countries. They need to exchange money. Banks were established for this purpose. But they gradually turned into usury establishments. The way it should be done is that the bank's function should be foreign exchange in commercial activities or bank commerce when something is imported or there are people importing something from abroad need to exchange. This should be the basis of banking.

ETTELA'AT: In your opinion, how free should political parties and groups be and what groups and organizations can be active?

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: If they propagandize against Islam, they should not be free. But if they do not propagandize against Islam, we should let them be free. In fact, on the whole, I believe we should not bother groups. We should not aggravate them or shout slogans against them. There are especially many individuals who have been deceived and have joined these groups, but they are flexible and if we don't bother them, those who have joined these groups innocently will realize their mistake and return. Hence, we should not deal with these groups with enmity and fight them. This would only result in their pretending to be oppressed and instigating propaganda against us. The Quran says: Call the people to the Creator through logic and good preaching. Meanwhile, we should prevent anti-Islamic propaganda, that is, we should not give them the opportunity to propagandize against Islam. But violent attack is not the right way. We should act wisely.

ETTELA'AT: In conclusion, I would like to ask your holiness for any guidelines or suggestions you might have for the press.

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI: The press must always keep in mind the good of Islam and the people and not only think of increasing newspaper sales. In short, it should not be just business-minded, only seeing what the people want to buy and then selling it to them.

Now, suppose that what we are writing is what the people buy most, even though it is against Islam, only to increase paper sales; this should not be. The press has a constructive role to play and because now our revolution is an Islamic one, they should always keep in mind the good of Islam and the good of the people. Radio and television must also do the same, and they should avoid programs which poison minds. Take, for instance, this newspaper, ETTELA'AT. In the beginning, formerly, it was a very corrupt newspaper; but recently it has improved and it prints more revolutionary issues. In short, the style should benefit the revolution and Islam.

IRAN

DEPUTY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON VARIOUS ISSUES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 11 Jan 81 p 3

[Article: "ETTELA'AT's Exclusive Interview with Mir Salim, Political Deputy of the Interior and Police Supervisor, Regarding Midterm Elections, Party and Political Group Activity and War Refugees"]

[Text] Eng Mir Salim, political and social deputy of the interior and supervisor of the police of the Islamic Republic of Iran, made various statements regarding the draft law on the activities of parties and political groups, the reason for the delay in midterm elections to parliament, and the decision regarding the war refugees in an exclusive interview with ETTELA'AT. Regarding the draft law on party activities, he said "We have presented the draft we prepared last year to the Revolutionary Council on behalf of the Ministry of the Interior; the Revolutionary Council has unfortunately because time has been short not be able to subject it to precise investigation.

"This year we were invited by the parliament Interior Commission to take part in a discussion and investigation into that draft and some other drafts presented by the Ministry of the Interior to the parliament. In that bill, the limits of the actions of the parties, guild activities and the activities of the Islamic societies and the religious minorities listed in Point 26 of the Constitution were mentioned; each of the activities was spelled out and the party, group, gathering or guild society which is to be formed, or Islamic society, or whatever, should realize what framework they are to be situated within, basically in conjunction with the recognition and understanding of these notions which are now being used and discussed, though their dimensions are not determined, so that their more exact notions and meanings may be clarified, along with the meaning of legitimate freedom and what the status that must be protected is, the definition to inspection of beliefs or espionage, the meaning of the notion that a certain activity must not disrupt the structures of Islam, and, when people say the parties are free but their freedom is conditional, the notion that independence should be preserved. This freedom is different from the freedom to insult territorial integrity and disrupt the balance of Islam. What conditions exist in the fact of this freedom? Then, with respect to the activities of parties, demonstrations and parades which again are conditional in the sense that they should not be armed and should not be disruptive of Islam, where will the activities of those parties which are armed be drawn? If a party, group or gathering comes and carries out a program, and the bases of Islam are disrupted, how must one deal with it? These are points which must become clear from the standpoint of definitions and then the bill itself will be set forth. If some people want to form a party and want a legal personality to be created in this manner, what sequence of events must be followed so

that it may acquire official status and be able to enjoy the rights the constitution has given it? If a violation occurs in party activities, how must one investigate this violation, and, if there is no agreement to the establishment of a party, to what source must the people who have made the request complain? These are matters which must be mentioned in this bill, along with the points which must be carefully observed so that it will be possible to consider some activities permissible. In other words, if a violation occurs in connection with these matters, how should provision be made to give warning with respect to a party or organization which commits a violation, that is, trespasses beyond its own freedoms and insults the freedoms of others? We are engaged in investigating these stages and we hope that the draft will be prepared as soon as possible and given to the Council of State, then sent to the parliament after ratification by the Council of State." Mir Salim added "I hope that everyone's duties will be clear after this law is ratified, and, as I have always said, the role of the law will give basic assistance and have a very great effect on our activity, in the status of society and showing respect for and observing the law. Finally, it can result in the fact that we will have a sound political life in society. I am sometimes affected by some of these encounters within the society and we sometimes observe that some conduct arises within society which results in the fact that respect for the law, concern for legal balances, and respect for dignity are blemished. This in itself is cause for anxiety, but investigating these matters will cause a proper composition to come into being in our country, because after the Islamic revolution, all the conditions have now become favorable for the parties and groups to be able to pursue sound activities within the context of the constitution and grow, because of the intellectual progress throughout the country and among the various classes of the people." Regarding the reason for the postponement of the midterm elections, Mir Salim said:

"According to the constitution, the duty of surveillance over elections has been assigned to the Vigilance Council following the formation of the Islamic Consultative Council. In order to carry out the midterm elections, the Islamic Consultative Council will be able to carry out this surveillance duty."

Mir Salim added, "The new law has been prepared and ratified by the Islamic Consultative Council and has been conveyed to the Ministry of the Interior. According to the new regulations, the Vigilance Council must conduct surveillance with regard to elections and appoint and nominate five persons as basic members. The appointment and nominator of these five persons also must be carried out by a central five-man committee and at the present time the five-man committee is busy traveling to the provincial capitals to appoint three-man committees."

Mir Salim said that the orders to start the elections must be given by the Vigilance Committee.

"Whenever the Vigilance Committee has declared its readiness in this regard, the Ministry of the Interior will prepare to carry out the election in every place they are announced, and elections will also be held in the other areas whenever the political, social and military conditions are favorable. However, it is natural that today, in the light of the war of confrontation we are having with the Ba'th government of Iraq in the west and south of the country, the possibility of conducting elections in these areas does not exist -- in other words, one cannot guarantee that elections in these areas will take place in a free atmosphere of expression of opinions."

Regarding the war refugees, the undersecretary of the interior said, "Decisions on this subject have been taken in three fields. First are the crash or immediate, preliminary decisions which bear on investigating the feeding and housing of war victims. In this regard, the duty of the governors has been to coordinate the aid which has come from other areas and the aid which is arriving from the Red Crescent and the resources of their governorate area and send this aid to the war refugees through a single channel. The second is to provide a place of residence for the war refugees; this must be provided in more secure locations; such camps have been provided in the town of Jiroft in the Province of Kerman, in the town of Fasa in the Province of Fars, in Kazerun and in Esfahan, and in the Sarab-e Nilufar in the Province of Kermanshahan. Measures for these have been taken with the aid of the governors, under the supervision of the governors general. In some areas these measures have been carried out with the assistance of the Red Crescent, and we hope that all the war refugees who lack shelter in the towns will soon be given housing.

"The third part concerns the long-term measures and changes which appeared in the provinces that have been afflicted by the war, including the total destruction of some towns for which new plans will have to be drawn up. Remedies for the future of these towns will have to be taken into account through proper logical planning and, once secure conditions are provided, work will proceed at a reasonable pace through the help of the people themselves and government planning. The duties of these towns, and the people who resided in these towns, will become clear as soon as possible. Of course the investigation and planning will involve the various aspects, one of which is housing, or the issue of employment, economic and cultural activities, and similar matters which must be taken into account."

11887

CSO: 4906

WELFARE ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR INTERVIEWED ON INDUSTRIALIZATION POLICY

Tehran MIZAN in Persian 13 Dec 80 pp 1-2

[Interview with Welfare Organization Director, Dr Mohammad Fayaz-Bakhsh]

[Text] Throughout the life of the former regime, it only made efforts to make our country's industry dependent on the capitalist world. With that intent, only some Iranian workers, not all of those who were merely factory workers, were included in the laws for social security and group insurance. For millions of other Iranians, however, including self-employed workers, guilds and trade organizations, agricultural workers, villagers, clerics and independent businessmen, no thought was taken. If a statement, regulation, or policy statement was issued occasionally, it went no further than the publication itself, because these regulations have never been put into effect, so that now at least 2/3 of our work force, due to occupational hazards and expiration of employment or retirement pay, is left with nothing to fall back on and no legal protection.

Dr Mohammad Ali Fayaz-Bakhsh, Director of the National Welfare Organization, in an exclusive talk with MIZAN, said: Although the unwanted wars with Iraq have brought on much death, destruction, and unpleasant events for our Islamic nation, it has also definitely made our nation more aware of the mistaken and wrong policies of the former regime. This war has shown us how far the former regime went towards making the country dependent in all political, economic, social, cultural, and military areas, in such a way that some of the main problems and entanglements we have had since the victory of the revolution have been things that have happened as a result of these dependencies.

Without taking climactic and geographic conditions into account, the former regime adopted a sudden policy of national industrialization. This was also a policy of fostering dependence, that is, one that advanced industry to the point of assembling parts and fastening nuts and bolts, but not to the point of manufacture, innovation, and creation.

In explaining the unsavory consequences of this policy, Dr Fayaz-Bakhsh said: One of the bad things that happened because of this policy of apparent industrialization of the country was that the villagers, even at the price of disrupting social ties, evacuate to the cities in order to work in factories and on assembly lines.

In order to realize this goal, the regime gave all the various benefits and privileges to that class of workers which was employed in the work centers. In this area not only did they fail to implement the rules of the employment and group insurance law where self-employed workers were concerned, they even deprived foundry workers of the right to make full use of these regulations.

They inserted a clause in the employment and group insurance law which caused most foundry workers to be classified as "temporary or seasonal workers." As a result, they were denied severance pay, unemployment compensation, sick pay for non-work-related illness and of full benefits from the regulations in the group insurance law.

The Minister of State for Welfare then added: Apart from these people, millions of Iranian farmers were not given coverage by the employment laws. Self-employed workers, guildsmen, tradesmen, and clerics were also among the classes and groups that were subject to this legal persecution.

Even now one of the greatest problems for the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is taking care of the financial and employment situations of the groups of agricultural guilds and tradesmen who have migrated from areas hit by the war, because those who were employed in the public sector earn at least a part of their income in some way, but how is the butcher, the baker, the mechanic and the construction worker who has been driven from his home and farm by the unwanted war and savage killings of the Iraqi Ba'thists to live, and where will he obtain his living expenses?

Dr Mohammad Ali Fayaz-Bakhsh, referring to the unpleasant situation of these groups, said: This is where the distinction is made between Welfare and Health, because homeless people are up against two great misfortunes. They are either injured and sick and obliged to turn to the Ministry of Health, the treatment centers, and hospitals for medicine and treatment or else they have lost their means of livelihood, in which case the Welfare Organization must take care of them.

This is the dividing line that separated Welfare and Health and set each of them off on the path of its legal responsibilities and obligations.

Now, in light of these responsibilities and obligations, the country's Welfare Organization has no choice but to design a program in order to extend its protective umbrella and provide protection and support for these large suffering groups.

Dr Fayaz-Bakhsh said: Perhaps it will not be a very difficult job to design comprehensive and protective plans. What will create problems for us in this plan designing is procurement of credit and a financial budget. Since the government lacks a budget or credit for doing this job, what can be done to procure the funds to carry out the plan itself, which will require one or two million that may not be available? It is this same "what can be done?" that has set us to thinking in order to study various solutions, such as charity, help and donations from the people, printing and selling stamps, or what else? What can help us to attain this great humanitarian objective?

The Minister of Welfare Organization Director then added: We have now designated groups to study this problem, to make plans, and to make preliminary arrangements for carrying out these plans. This does not mean that opportunists, urged by the counterrevolution, should come out tomorrow in droves to the organizations and centers of welfare and put forth various demands. They must be assured that at the moment we are quite empty-handed, and with empty hands we cannot make amends in one night for the misery that the former regime inflicted on the millions in our Islamic community. As I said, these problems must be studied, their status and objectives must be defined and plans must be made. Regulations, laws, and policies must also be approved by legal authorities so that perhaps in the not-too-distant future these plans can be put into motion and reach the stage of implementation.

Dr Mohammad Ali Fayaz-Bakhsh then stressed that in order for these plans to be better carried out the people and officials must cooperate with us.

People who need assistance from the National Welfare Organization should refer to welfare officials in the municipalities so that complete data may be compiled as to their ailments and the way in which they are to be helped.

Welfare officials must acquaint themselves with organizations, institutions, and other welfare centers in their areas of responsibility which have not yet been turned over to the Welfare Organization, because so far we have discovered nearly a billion tumans for half-finished organizational projects. In connection with a thousand welfare units that have been turned over to the National Welfare Organization, clearly there are still organizations and centers of which we are not aware. It is thus the responsibility of welfare officials in the municipalities and provinces to identify and record them.

In conclusion, Dr Fayaz-Bakhsh, referring to the responsibilities of Health and Welfare, said: Since the separation of these two ministries and their legal responsibilities has raised questions in the minds of many, I should mention that the Ministry of Health is responsible for treating sick people, meaning that if someone has an eye ailment he should go to the Ministry of Health, but if someone loses his sight, it is this Welfare Organization that must train him to profitably utilize his remaining healthy faculties. In other words, rehabilitation, therapy, and caring for the country's handicapped and deprived people is fully the responsibility of the National Welfare Organization, while treatment and hygiene are the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health, because in Persian health means getting better, or treatment, and welfare means living better.

9310
CSO: 4906

ISRAEL

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIANS TOUR WEST BANK

TA031920 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 3 Feb 81

[Text] A visiting delegation of British parliamentarians who have declared their support for the PLO today toured the West Bank with their host, Nabulus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'ah. Before arriving in Israel they met King Husayn in Amman and PLO chief Yasir 'Arafat in Beirut. The co-chairman of the delegation Labor MP Frank (Huly) talked to reporter Jerry Cheslow about his impressions of the trip.

[Begin recording] [Huly] Well, the main impression is that the sooner you come to terms with the idea of an independent Palestinian state the better.

[Question] You met with Yasir 'Arafat. Did he speak at all about guarantees for Israel's security?

[Answer] We did not discuss guarantees.

[Question] So, how would you expect Israel to come to terms with a state that would be based on a charter that calls for her annihilation?

[Answer] Israel is the most powerful military state in this part of the world. She is in no danger.

[Question] And what about the threats? What about infiltration from such a state?

[Answer] Well, what about the terrorism that is being waged by the Israeli Air Force in south Lebanon at the moment?

[Question] Did you visit any of the areas in south Lebanon?

[Answer] Not this time. I have done so in the past.

[Question] Have you made any appointments to see Israeli leaders?

[Answer] No. We are not here to see Israeli leaders.

[Question] But do you not think that you would perhaps be able to convey a fuller picture if you were able to speak to the other side?

[Answer] We are not here for that purpose. We are here to meet the Palestinians and discuss their problems with them. That is the purpose of the visit. [end recording]

CSO: 4820

BRIEFS

GAZA STRIP POWER STATION--The last time the Israel Electric Corporation assessed the needs of the Gaza Strip was in 1970 when it was estimated that in the 1980's the area would require some 10 megawatts. The power lines were strong for a capacity of nearly 1.5 times the estimated need. But, what was not taken into account was the tremendous boom in private housing and industrial construction which brought the consumption of electricity up to 14 megawatts, or considerably more than the electric corporation had planned, for the middle of the next decade. As a result the lines are nearly overloaded. So the military government and the electric company are planning to install extra power lines from the Negev within the next 3 months, and construction of a 22-megawatt electricity substation is in the planning stage. It will be operational within 5 years. [Text] [Jerry Cheslow] [TA041302 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 4 Feb 81]

SHARON INVITED TO CAIRO--Tel Aviv--Israel will participate in an international exhibition next month in Cairo dedicated to agricultural equipment, Agriculture Minister Ari'el Sharon announced yesterday. Eight Israeli firms have already signed up to display their products. Sharon told reporters here yesterday that the invitation followed the recent successful visit to Israel of Egyptian Agriculture Minister Mahmud Da'ud. Sharon pointed out that in 1979/80, Israel exported about F320 million in agricultural implements, and this year's target is F400m. Whenever Israel signs a technical aid agreement in the field of agriculture, he said, it tries to include a provision on the sale of Israeli equipment to the country involved. Another reason for the growth, he said, is that the Agriculture Ministry is putting greater emphasis on exports to the U.S. [Excerpt] [TA031505 Jerusalem POST in English 3 Feb 81 p 3]

FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES--Israel's foreign currency reserves grew by \$210 million last year. The figure was disclosed today by the Bank of Israel, which published its balance sheet for 1980. The figures also show that there was no significant increase in credit during the year, but directed credit to exporters did rise sharply. As a footnote, the 100-shekel banknote bearing the likeness of Ze'ev Jabotinsky accounted for 14 percent of the money in circulation within 2 weeks of its issue. [Text] [TA040533 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 2 Feb 81 TA]

HASSAN CAST AS MIDEAST PEACE BROKER

London 8 DAYS in English 24 Jan 81 p 21

[Article by Mary Geraheart: "Hassan the Peace Broker"]

[Text]

THIS MONTH has seen a flurry of diplomatic activity in Morocco, with some key European ministers and heads of state beating a path to King Hassan's door. Even the Americans are joining in, with Reagan adviser Henry Kissinger expected in Marrakech soon.

Kissinger follows West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, who met the king, the British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington, who is scheduled to see both the king and foreign minister Mohammed Boucetta, and Malta's Dom Mintoff. The French premier, Raymond Barre, is also expected to visit.

This surge of activity, apparently a fresh bid to break the deadlock in Middle East peace talks, has surprised some observers. King Hassan is not widely noted for his influence with Middle East states, but his prestige has certainly been enhanced by his chairmanship of the Islamic League's Al Quds Jerusalem Committee.

Moreover, there is a precedent for Moroccan mediation in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1977, under Moroccan auspices, a secret meeting was held in Tangier between Moshe Dayan from Israel, an Egyptian envoy, and Reda Guedira, one of Hassan's chief advisers.

Some countries threatened to back the Polisario in the simmering Saharan war

unless Morocco toed the official Arab line. Feeling vulnerable and isolated, the Moroccans abandoned their earlier stance — snubbing President Sadat when he passed through in 1979 — but privately indicated they were still in favour of a settlement.

King Hassan has enjoyed the reputation as a broker in the Middle East conflict. It is particularly significant that he told Schmidt in Marrakech that he supported the 'European initiative' on the Middle East. There is no doubt that the visits to Morocco reflect European frustration and scepticism about the chances of success through Camp David. But although Europeans — to the annoyance of the US — have shown an independence of spirit in actively seeking their own diplomatic channels with the Arab world, they are at the same time anxious not to distance themselves.

This new Moroccan-European initiative may not be entirely a European idea. Morocco has always bitterly contested the leadership of North Africa with Algeria. Recently the Algerians have been playing a key role — and getting a very favourable western press — in mediating with the Iranians over the American hostages. King Hassan may well be hoping for a slice of glory too.

COUNTRY'S POLITICAL DISUNITY ASSESSED

London 8 DAYS in English 17 Jan 81 pp 18, 19

[Article by Howard Schissel: "Morocco's Political Disunity"]

[Text]

Morocco is not the politically stable country that it would like the rest of the world, in particular the IMF, to think. HOWARD SCHISSEL reports on the latest round of political infighting within and between the country's parties.

MOROCCO'S political facade is starting to develop deep cracks, as the modus vivendi established by King Hassan in the wake of 1975's 'Green March' into the former Spanish Sahara appears to be breaking down. With the conflict in the Western Sahara against Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas intensifying and the economic outlook for 1981 even more bleak, King Hassan has sought at least to end the continuous and deep-seated personal rivalries and intense competition within and among the political parties.

The most ominous note for the king so far was the dramatic conflict last month within the largest political formation (with 141 deputies out of 240) Le Rassemblement National des Independents (RNI). Opposition within this loose umbrella organisation, expressly set up in 1977 to transmit Hassan's policies in the national assembly, reached boiling point when 60 RNI deputies, under the leadership of Abdel Hamid Kassimi, threatened to form their own party. Their main grievance was the role played by RNI Secretary General Ahmed Osman (an ex-premier and the king's brother-in-law), who they claimed lacked dynamism and foresight.

Dissension in the leading party of the governing coalition spilled over into the government itself. Secretary of State for Saharan Affairs Henna Ould Errachid, Minister of Labour Arsalane Al Sadidi, and the Minister of Energy and Mining Moussa Saadi, threw their weight behind the RNI secessionists. Osman's principal support within the cabinet came from the powerful Finance Minister Abdel Kamel Reghaya.

Over and above the bitter personal enmities, Kassimi's supporters have marked political differences with the majority RNI faction. The deputies around Osman generally come from the larger urban centres and represent big business and commercial interests.

They are pushing, in particular, for a rapid liberalisation of the country's investment laws which would enable foreign capital, especially from Western Europe and the Gulf, to move more easily into the Moroccan economy. Moreover, they would keenly appreciate an early compromise settlement in the Sahara so as to halt the considerable drain of the war on the fragile economy.

Kassimi's followers tend to reflect the views of rural constituencies and large landowners. They are, above all, pushing for more social measures to soften the effects of inflation on Morocco's poorer classes and a limit to liberalisation measures in economic affairs. Without being hawks, the minority RNI group is much more intransigent on the possibility of negotiations with Polisario.

The dissenters are demanding a greater degree of influence in the daily running of

the party's press, the establishment of a general secretariat on a collective basis and a reshuffling of top posts within the party apparatus to give its partisans more clout. In a recent interview in the RNI French-language daily, *Al Maghreb*, Osman said that compromise was possible within the existing RNI framework.

In its efforts to prevent further conflict within RNI ranks, the 1981 budget failed to come to grips with one of the key economic problems facing the government: a revision of the subsidies on staple foods which put a heavy burden on the hard-pressed exchequer. According to Prime Minister Maati Bouabid: 'The successive increases in the world price of staple foods raised government subsidies in 1980 to Moroccan dirhams 1.8bn (\$423m). The increase in the price of certain foodstuffs is therefore inevitable.'

It is feared, however, that a substantial boost in prices could spark off another round of the social unrest which led last year to strikes by teachers, civil servants and miners. Moreover, Morocco is intent on maintaining its international image as a stable country, consolidated when the IMF showed its implicit confidence last October by granting a three-year \$1bn credit.

Leader of the left-wing opposition Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP) Abderrahim Bouabid, while supporting the king's annexation of the Sahara, has attacked the government's economic policies. 'There is a distortion in a society in which 8 per cent of the population has 50 per cent of the national revenue. King Hassan has done little to remedy this because his supporters profit from the situation. With a 3.4 per cent annual growth in the population, more than 50 per cent of which is under 25 years old, the situation can only go from bad to worse.'

USFP has also crossed swords with the Istiqlal Party, which unlike the USFP is a member of the government coalition. Mohammed Boucetta, Istiqlal leader and foreign minister, has been harshly criticised for his diplomatic action in recent months. Morocco received a stinging setback last autumn when the UN decolonisation committee invited Rabat to withdraw from the Saharan territory as the first step towards a self-determination referendum.

When the USFP condemned Hassan's tentative approaches to Algerian President Chadli Benjedid, royal backers launched a full-scale attack against the party. Writing in the *Matin du Sahara*, the king's trusted advisory Moulay Ahmed Alaoui suggested

that articles in the USFP-controlled press 'were likely in a time of war to undermine the nation's morale and abet the enemy's cause'.

MOROCCO'S parliament has unanimously adopted a decree creating an exclusive economic zone extending 200 nautical miles beyond Morocco's territorial waters, and giving the country a monopoly of all fishing and mineral resources in the area. The move follows numerous incidents involving the seizure of foreign vessels for infringement of Moroccan fishing regulations.

The new legislation applies to both Atlantic and Mediterranean coastal waters, particularly to the sea off the Western Sahara administered by Morocco, where Moroccan sovereignty is disputed by the Algerian-backed Polisario Front.

Dozens of Spanish fishing boats have been seized in recent months and made to pay heavy fines, mostly in the northern part of the Atlantic coast between Tangier and Agadir. There have also been incidents off the Western Sahara, provoked either by the Moroccans or the Polisario.

Early in December two large Soviet fish factory trawlers and a Cuban ocean-going trawler were seized for operating off the Western Sahara without Moroccan permission. They are currently being detained in the port of Dakhla (formerly Villa Cisneros). The Cuban ship, the *Golfo de Tonkin* is suspected of spying for the Polisario by monitoring the movement of Moroccan air and ground forces in the desert and transmitting the information to the Polisario in the Tindouf area of Algeria.

The Polisario has attacked several Spanish, Portuguese and South Korean fishing vessels off the Western Sahara, capturing their crews and detaining them.

Morocco now intends to exercise 'sovereign rights' over a much larger area. Until recently there was an 'exclusive fishing zone' of 70 nautical miles, extending beyond the 12-mile territorial waters limit. The new 200-mile zone not only replaces the 70-mile one but covers mineral as well as fishing resources.

The decree stipulates that Morocco has exclusive rights to exploration and exploitation of all biological and non-biological natural resources in the sea, on and beneath the seabed, and that foreigners must obtain Moroccan authorisation for economic operations in the zone, except for free navigation, the laying of submarine cables or pipelines.

NATION'S SAHARAN STRATEGY ANALYZED

London WEST AFRICA in English 26 Jan 81 pp 155-156

[Text]

WHILE Morocco entrenches itself in the Western Sahara, by adopting a modified military strategy, there is pressure, and some willingness to negotiate. Algeria, for its part, while continuing its support for the Polisario Front, is equally keen to see some solution. The Polisario Front would also like a solution. The problem arises over the definition of the solution and the contradictory reports which the protagonists inflict upon one and all as to the progress of the conflict.

The signs certainly have been, in the last eight weeks, that events through 1980 have obliged those involved in the conflict to rethink their approaches with a view to establishing some channel of comprehension among them.

The most active has been Morocco. After holding its own at the Freetown summit of the OAU, where there was a push to have the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic recognised by the summit, Rabat was disappointed by the failure of its attempt to win over the Decolonisation Committee of the United Nations which met at the end of November. The atmosphere suggests that the attitude adopted at Freetown by Morocco, where it threatened to leave the organisation in the event of recognition of the SADR, has now mollified, in so far that retaining the military option alone to stave off the attacks of a well drilled Polisario force, is unfruitful.

Two important circumstances have contributed to the policy modifications. It became evident, throughout last year, that Morocco was not alone diplomatically. Senegal and Zaire are forceful supporters of the Moroccan theses. Guinea is too beholden to Morocco to take the radical stance its government otherwise holds.

Other countries in West Africa still sit on the fence, especially those who are suspicious of progressive movements. Even Nigeria has yet to commit itself, and shows little sign of doing so.

Fortifications

Secondly, Morocco has taken particular measures to strengthen its military hold on the areas of the Western Sahara — or the Saharan provinces, as they are called in Morocco — which it considers the most valuable. The Polisario Front has accurately described this strategy as the construction of a "veritable line of fortifications" aimed at isolating "the useful triangle of El Aioun-Smara-Bou Craa". Indeed, they claim that the fortifications consist of 300km. of trenches, barbed wire fences, minefields and sand barrages. The SADR Minister of Information, M. Mohammed Salem Ould Salek, says that 12,000 royal troops were committed to defending the engineers as they went about their job of setting up these fortifications. Throughout much of November and December, this area was the scene of very violent confrontations between Moroccan forces and the Polisario Front. Though the claims from both sides are contradictory, it is evident that very large numbers of men were thrown into the fighting and that the Moroccans lost a Mirage, and one of their most senior officers was killed.

The cost to the Moroccan treasury has been heavy and debate domestically, on the Saharan issue suggests an absence of unanimity, in spite of the often-overlooked strength of Moroccan nationalism and the feeling this evokes with regard to the

Western Sahara. Istiqlal, the nationalist party which cannot be discarded by the King, is critical of the fact that Morocco has not been able to impose itself diplomatically in this affair. The Socialist Union of Popular Forces, the official left wing opposition, is critical of the government's "exaggerated pacifism". The principal party, the Rassemblement National des Independants, which once supported the annexation of the Western Sahara is now more concerned with the costs of the war and would like the conflict resolved as soon as possible.

If the Moroccans have secured the Western Sahara, militarily, that is to say they have developed the means to withstand and reduce the effect of Polisario incursions — as Rabat feels it has — then the thesis put forward by the United States to justify the aid it has given to Morocco in the course of the last year could well be realised. Namely, that by strengthening its military position, Rabat will be in a better position to negotiate.

In early December, two senior Department of State officials, one of them the Under-Secretary of State for North Africa, Mr. Harold Saunders, visited the Tindouf in Southern Algeria and met with the Secretary General of the Polisario Front, M. Mohammed Abdelaziz. This was followed by a statement from the US calling on the participants to negotiate, given that this was an "impossible war to win".

The mutual goodwill generated by the immediate and substantial assistance sent by the US during the E. Asnam earthquake disaster and the Algerian intermediation over the hostages in Iran will have no small effect on the outcome of the current attempts to bring Algeria, Morocco and the Polisario Front to the negotiating table.

One interpretation would be that the US is now a little more favourably inclined towards the Algerian view on the conflict, while at the same time not renouncing the

older alliance between Washington and Rabat. (It has been made clear by the US that none of the arms promised to Morocco have been delivered, though this does not tally with the Polisario claim of having captured US equipment from Moroccan forces during raids.) Some uncertainty is bound to arise with the new Republican administration some of whose Africa hands see the Western Sahara as another element in the ideological struggle for Africa.

No Easy Compromise

It has been reliably reported that Moroccan and Algerian officials have met frequently in the course of the last six months to discuss some solution to the war. Compromise will not be easy. Rabat will not accept a regime that is ideologically antagonistic on its southern frontier. Though it has said that it would be prepared to consider some kind of implementation of the OAU principle of self-determination. This has been behind the Moroccan resurrection of all sorts of groups which might contest, however dubiously, the legitimacy of the Polisario Front's claim to be the sole representative of Sahrawi nationhood. Algeria's position has softened somewhat since the death of Boumedienne. There is also the simple consideration of whether the Algerians really do want to support a war which might result in the overthrow of Hassan by people or interests whose actions might prove far less predictable in an already uneasy Maghreb. But Algeria's prestige is also at stake. There is no way it can be seen diluting its support for the Sahrawi and, anyway, Col. Gaddafi might be only too happy to take over the mantle of being the Sahrawi protector, whatever the logistic difficulties this might imply.

CURRENCY REFORM, AMENDMENT OF DEFENSE TAX ANNOUNCED

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 10 Jan 81 pp 23-24

[Text] President Jaafar Numeiri has issued a decree exempting some industrial and consumer items and agricultural commodities from the five percent defence tax.

Issued on October 11, 1979, the decree is part of Sudan's recent major campaign to promote increased agricultural production and to stimulate local industry.

In the agricultural area, the following commodities are exempted:

1. Agricultural equipment except that used in horticulture, gardens and sports playgrounds;
2. Harvesters stipulated in article 84-25 of the Customs Tariff List;
3. Farm tractors stipulated in article 87(1) of the Customs Tariff List;
4. Fertilizers;
5. Insecticides for agricultural purposes and not for retail sale;
6. Seeds;
7. Jute.

Also exempted from the defence tax are all industrial raw materials approved by the Ministry of Industry. Exceptions are tobacco and other raw materials for cigarette manufacture, and raw ingredients used in beer and wine production.

Other commodities exempted from the tax include skimmed milk, bicycles, medicines, dates, printed materials and imports specifically exempted from the tax by agreement with the Sudanese government.

Currency Reforms

Sudan recently released a list of the commodities which can be imported under its new parallel exchange rate. Made public in October, the announcement implements the currency reforms promulgated earlier.

Under these reforms, Sudan instituted a new two-tier system of currency exchange with an official and a parallel rate. The official rate of \$1.00 = Sud.0.05 applies to "essential" imports and exports, while all other transactions are subject to a fluctuating parallel rate of about \$1.00 = Sud.0.80.

Commodities subject to the new parallel rate include medical, pharmaceutical and laboratory equipment, seed, spare parts, nonagricultural chemicals, tires, various types of electrical equipment, cement, glass, wood, rope, trucks and buses. Also included are many types of consumer goods, such as tape recorders, rugs, stationary, canned food, fresh fruit, plastic and rubber products, lighting and heating equipment.

Applications to import these commodities will be considered in light of available parallel market resources. However, the new currency reforms are expected to stimulate foreign investment and to increase bank deposits from remittances by expatriate Sudanese workers, thereby freeing more foreign exchange in the Sudan.

CSO: 4820

SULTANATE OF OMAN

'VOICE OF PFLO' LOOKS AT OMAN'S PRISON SITUATION

LD051600 Aden VOICE OF PFLO in Arabic 1545 GMT 4 Feb 81 EA

[Text] Al-Jalali prison has become notorious because it is Oman's [words indistinct]. This prison was built by the Portuguese as a fort to defend Muscat against external and local raids. During the time of Muscat's sultans it turned into a graveyard for the strugglers of the Omani people. We do not believe that there is a prison in the world that is worse in any respect than the (Kut) Al-Jalali prison.

The prison has witnessed the death of numerous detainees; whoever enters it is lost and whoever gets out of it (?survives). During the time of the Qabus there was progress in that the most modern central prison was constructed, namely, (Al-Rumays) prison in al-Sib, as well as numerous other overt and covert prisons. In Salalah alone we can name four: the Political Department prison in Salalah, which is the central prison there; then comes Umm (al-Ghawaris) prison; another one at the air base in Thamarit; and (al-Halal) prison. These prisons vary in their reception of political and ordinary prisoners. Oman contains scores of other prisons located in remote places.

(?On the other hand) the expertise of torture has also developed and changed along with other things. The expertise of the Jordanians and Savak has been introduced in addition, of course, to that of the English. Work is also in full swing to have foreign experts train a new local generation during the course of the so-called development. Methods of torture against detainees, particularly those with political status, have developed. They are a blend of the arts of the middle ages, the executors of which depend on bodily torture practised in a savage manner on sensitive areas of a man's body, and the art of the modern age, which depend on psychological torture. Means of torture have become an independent science. They include methods and arts in which the Jordanians and the shah's Savak, in particular, are proficient. They (?exceed) one's imagination.

Modern techniques have been used on a large scale in torturing detainees to the extent that those who are released from these detention camps in most cases are afflicted with physical and psychological illnesses which become difficult to cure. They thus live with a (?broken) will and loss of self-confidence to the end of their days. It must be said that the executioners do not hesitate to use the [word indistinct] and foulest means of torture with the detainees to extract confessions from them.

Those who squat in the cells and vaults of (?Bensen) and (Brown) live in inhuman circumstances that do not even befit animals. Nobody exactly knows how these prisoners live, because the (Bensen) and (Brown) administrations withhold any information about their private kingdom. Neither international nor Arab nor humanitarian organizations are able to enter the cells and vaults of (Bensen) and (Brown) and of the Qabus' executioners. But in spite of these crimes against the Omani man, his will is too strong to be harmed by these cowards.

O executioners, take your hands off our people.

CSO: 4802

SEARCH FOR OIL TAKES ON NEW URGENCY

London 8 DAYS in English 17 Jan 81 pp 43, 46

[Text]

TUNISIA is engaged in a crucial race against time to find more crude oil and natural gas resources. Its consumption of energy products, climbing at an annual rate of around 12 per cent, has dangerously outstripped production increases in recent years. The government has yet to make a determined attempt to come to grips with its domestic energy pricing policy, one of the principal reasons why consumption has soared. Only a significant boost in energy prices, a politically delicate issue, could persuade Tunisian consumers to cut back on their use of petrol, bottled household gas and electricity.

If Tunisia is a relatively minor producer in oil in comparison with Gulf states or even its neighbours in North Africa, its oil-derived revenues still accounted for over 50 per cent of export earnings in 1980. But present production-consumption trends point to the country losing its main cash spinner as early as 1986. Since Tunisia is already straddled with a major trade deficit, the eventual drying up of this hydrocarbon income is liable to have dramatic consequences for the fragile economy.

From a trough of 3.7m tonnes in 1976, Tunisia's oil production has bounded upward: 4.3m tonnes in 1977, 4.9m in 1978, 5.5m in 1979 and an estimated 5.7m last year. Over the last three years, the country has been able to maintain exports of its high quality light crude oil at the 3.5m tonne level. The considerable boost in the price of oil over the last 18 months has been a windfall for the economy, with oil-derived export earnings in 1980 expected to be around Tunisian dinars 497m (\$192m), up from TD 327m the previous year. But as no major new finds were registered either in 1979 or

1980, output will probably level off below the 6m tonne mark and even start to decline by 1983-84.

Onshore fields still produce slightly more than offshore ones. This situation, however, is expected to be reversed in the near future. The El Borma onshore field, close to the Algerian border, has been plagued by declining pressure, and only an extensive and costly water injection programme has enabled production to be maintained at around 45,000 barrels per day (b/d). Six other onshore fields are also in production, but their capacity is extremely restricted.

The El Borma structures are also exploited for most of Tunisia's limited natural gas production. The state-run oil company, Enterprise Tunisienne d'Activites Petrolieres (ETAP) is expected to invest \$50m, starting in 1981, in a scheme to produce liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) from this field. An ETAP official told 8 Days: 'The initial investment outlay will be paid off within two or three years, given the continued excellent market prospects of LPG in the 1980s.' Even at its dwindling rate of output, the El Borma field reportedly has sufficient reserves to guarantee LPG production for about twenty years.

Offshore oil ventures have also had production problems. For example, operators have been struggling to maintain the flow from the country's largest offshore field, Ashtart, in the Gulf of Gabes. The French state-controlled firm Elf-Aquitaine is working on pressure problems and struggling to prevent Ashtart's output from dipping below the current 45,000 b/d level.

Nevertheless, the offshore areas, say oil industry experts, hold the greatest promise for Tunisia's oil and gas future. Without a

doubt the Isis field, located in a stretch of the Gulf of Gabes which has also been claimed by Libya, is the key to Tunisia's energy independence until at least the end of the century. Initial estimates indicate that Isis could produce about 10m tonnes of oil a year for a minimum of twenty years. Tunisian attempts to develop this important find have been postponed.

Both Tunis and Tripoli have asked for an advisory decision from the International Court of Justice in The Hague to serve as the basis for a mutually acceptable boundary line. The court is not expected to reach a decision before 1982 and then it will be the task of diplomats from the two countries to hammer out a compromise. One possible solution could be the establishment of a joint Tunisian-Libyan oil company to exploit Isis for mutual profit.

Tunisia's economic planners are also busily revising development prospects for the offshore Miskar gasfield. Early last year a scheme was shelved to bring on stream this field, containing an estimated 30-33bn cu m of natural gas because of the extremely capital-intensive nature of the \$650-700m investment. (Job creation is a pivotal factor in investment decisions). In addition, the venture was considered as high risk because Miskar is situated in a deep portion of the continental shelf and the gas is reported to have a relatively high sulphur content.

However, recent upward pressure on the price of natural gas has caused an official rethink of the project. An American company, Gordian Corporation, has under-

taken an assessment of Tunisia's energy resources and consumption requirements until 1990. If the report is positive, the green light for the Miskar field could be given for the next five year development plan (1982-86). This additional domestic supply of gas would be earmarked to replace oil in the generation of electricity, thereby trimming local consumption in favour of exports.

In return for a \$500m investment in its portion of the trans-Mediterranean gas pipeline, Tunisia is to receive from Algeria 5 per cent of the 12bn cu m annual throughput to Italy. Once the flow reaches maximum levels, Tunisia will have an annual 1.2m tonne oil-equivalent windfall. Its share is to increase to 6 per cent if the throughput rises to 15bn cu m.

ETAP has been actively granting new exploration permits in offshore concessions. Seventeen American oil firms are presently engaged in prospecting and have been spending about \$100m a year on seismic surveys and drilling. Along with Elf, the second French state-controlled oil company, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP), has been extremely active. British Petroleum, for its part, is engaged in exploration activity in the Gulf of Hammamet. Relations between international oil companies and ETAP have traditionally been trouble free, but lately the Tunisians have hardened their attitude by requiring new permit holders to commit themselves either to a specific number of wells to be drilled or a minimum investment outlay during the life of the concession.

TUNIS AIR EXPANDS WITHIN ARAB WORLD

London 8 DAYS in English 31 Jan 81 pp 40, 41

[Text]

TUNIS AIR is to expand its regular flight service to new destinations in the Arab world, following the decision to relocate the headquarters of the Arab League in the Tunisian capital. The Tunisian national flag carrier already flies to Algiers, Casablanca, Tripoli, Cairo, Kuwait, Jeddah, Abu Dhabi and Damascus, and new routes to Baghdad and Khartoum are to be opened during the period from 1982-1986.

Because of Tunisia's relatively small size and limited population, Tunis Air is not contemplating long-distance transatlantic flights. Instead, according to Managing Director Ismail Khelil it will reinforce its European service, particularly to France, and develop new routes to Scandinavia. Another priority, following the example of Air Algeria and Royal Air Maroc, will be to open routes to sub-Saharan Africa.

To meet the new demands generated by its ambitious expansion programme, Tunis Air is to increase its fleet of ten Boeing 727s and two Boeing 737s with the addition of two Boeing 737s, which will start flying under Tunis Air colours in April and June 1981. To finance this purchase, Tunis Air has borrowed \$15m from Chase Manhattan for five years at a spread of 1/2 per cent above Libor. The balance of \$30m is to be paid directly in cash by the Tunisian government.

Longer term growth prospects will entail the acquisition of a European consortium Airbus A300 in 1982, followed by a second wide-bodied fuel-efficient jet in 1984 and a third two years later. The financial package for the purchase of these three Airbuses is currently being worked out.

Tunis Air's existing fleet can usually accommodate passenger demand, but during peak holiday periods and the annual Mecca pilgrimage it has to lease aircraft. Last summer, for instance, it hired a Danish Boeing 720. The Mecca pilgrimage is coordinated by a special committee which

selects some 7,500 candidates each year. Tunis Air then arranges flights at reduced fares.

Tunis Air has had one of the fastest growth rates of any airline in the Arab world. Between 1970 and 1979 the number of passengers it transported soared from 343,000 to 1.5m while its turnover rose from \$17.5m to \$147m. This excellent performance is largely due to Tunisia's tourist boom. Over half the 1.3m tourists who visited the country last year came by air. In addition, the 350,000 Tunisians living and working in France constitute a large and constant market.

Tunis Air officials told 8 Days that they expect a continued annual growth in passenger traffic of around 15 per cent. This will only be the case, however, if the number of tourists visiting the country continues to rise at the same rate as in the past.

To promote tourism, Tunis Air has started twice-weekly flights from Paris to the oases of Tozeur and Nefta in the south, near the Algerian border. Efforts have also been made to tap potential new tourist markets like Spain. Having inaugurated a direct weekly Madrid-Tunis flight as recently as June 1978, Tunis Air has just doubled its service on this line and hopes soon to include Barcelona.

Tunis Air works closely with the state tourist agency, l'Office National du Tourisme Tunisien (ONTT), in planning activities. It operates Boeing 727s on its domestic routes.

One of Tunis Air's prime considerations is gradually to replace foreigners with Tunisian personnel. The cabin crews and ground staff are almost all Tunisians but around a quarter of pilots and flight engineers are foreigners. However an important training programme is going forward.

PHOSPHATE INDUSTRY ASSUMES GROWING IMPORTANCE

London 8 DAYS in English 10 Jan 81 pp 54-55

[Article by Howard Schissel: "Big Push on Tunisian Phosphates"]

[Text]

Despite the importance of phosphate rock as a foreign currency earner, Tunisia's state phosphate mining company has been recording massive losses in recent years. New plans for open-cast mining could well change all that, reports HOWARD SCHISSEL.

TUNISIA'S phosphate mining industry seems poised for a decade of substantial growth during which the state-owned Compagnie des Phosphates de Gafsa (CPG) plans to invest as much as \$1bn in order to lift annual production capacity to some 10m tonnes by 1990. CPG's newly appointed managing director, Sadok Bahroun, says that the company's phosphate mining scheme envisages annual seven per cent increases in output and aims at maintaining Tunisia's position in the growing world market.

Most of the investment outlay during the next 10 years will be channelled into the development of four open-cast mines, three of which will be in the Gafsa region in the far southwest. At present only one of the eight mines is in operation. Kef Echlaier, is an open cast; by 1990, however, nearly half of Tunisia's phosphate production will be produced from further open-cast mines now being developed. Investment is to go mainly into new technology and mining methods as well as modern extraction and transport equipment.

This drive for growth comes after several years of rather disappointing performance. During the fifth Five Year Plan (1977-81),

phosphate production was supposed to double, from 3.5m to 7m tonnes. However, output has lagged far behind this target: 3.7m tonnes in 1977, 4.1m tonnes in 1979 and an expected 4.8m tonnes in 1980.

The ambitious decision to double production does not seem to have been followed by sufficient planning and implementation. For instance, instead of seeking to carry out the expansion scheme in stages, CPG apparently sought to do everything at the same time. As a result, coordination was sadly lacking, leading to bottlenecks and other problems. Moreover, neither the personnel nor the infrastructure was up to this challenging task.

Misguided investment decisions, insufficient concern for infrastructure improvement and a communication gap between headquarters in Tunis and the mines — located some 350km to the southwest — combined to hinder production. In addition, Tunisia was not helped by depression in the world phosphate rock market for most of the second half of the 1970s. Prices fell from about \$70 a tonne in 1974 to less than \$30 in 1979.

CPG head Sadok Bahroun is confident that these difficulties will soon become just an unfortunate memory. CPG's management approach has been radically altered, with central headquarters transferred early in 1980 to Metlaoui, site of one of the largest mining centres. The 7m tonne production target goal has been put back to 1983, but to reach it CPG will have to deploy considerable effort. The modernisation of older mines — a number of which have been in operation since 1900

— ranging from construction of new washeries to the application of recent technologies, as well as the start up of rich new mines like Schib and M'Rata, will, CPG hopes, make this goal attainable.

Tunisia currently exports only about a third of its total phosphate production. This is because of the government's efforts to boost the product's value by transforming the raw rock into various chemical products and fertilisers. 'Tunisia transforms the highest percentage of its phosphate rock of all Arab countries. It in fact has attained the level of a major industrial power like the United States', CPG officials told *8 Days*. Morocco may be by far the largest phosphate producer in the Arab world, but it still lags behind Tunisia in downstream activity, domestically processing only 10-12 per cent of its output.

CPG produces two varieties of phosphates: the 60-62 per cent and the 65-68 per cent bone phosphate lime (BPL) which is used in the production of chemical fertilisers, for use in the production of steel, and in the chemical industry to obtain phosphoric acid. In 1979, 1.5m tonnes of rock phosphate was exported, resulting in hard currency earnings of \$42.5m. The remaining output was employed in the domestic chemical industry to produce phosphoric acid, triple superphosphates (TSP), bicalcic phosphate animal feed and other phosphate derivatives. Phosphoric acid exports brought in \$78.3m, while TSP sales accounted for about \$80m in foreign exchange earnings.

Older phosphoric acid and fertiliser plants are located near Sfax and Tunis, the new focal point of the industry, however, has become the southern town of Gabes, where several new plants have recently come on stream. The company, Industries Chimiques Maghrebines (ICM), produces 250,000 tonnes per year (t/y) of phosphoric acid, 190,000 tonnes of which is exported and the rest used to manufacture TSP and bicalcic acid. Hitachi of Japan has won a contract to expand ICM's production capacity by an additional 190,000 t/y by 1981-82.

An agreement for a Tunisian dinar 20m equity participation in ICM for Kuwait's Petrochemical Industries Company (PIC) was signed last March. This represented one of the largest investments by a Gulf state in Tunisian heavy industry. A separate economic agreement between the two companies was also initialled, providing for

studies on the setting up of a joint venture fertiliser plant in Kuwait. The Kuwaitis would take a majority 51 per cent holding in the projected firm's equity, with ICM acquiring the remaining 49 per cent.

The government's Societe Arabe des Engrais Phosphates et Azote (SAEPA) began production in 1979. The Abu Dhabi Development Fund has a 40 per cent equity participation in the company, which has a long-term production target of 330,000 t/y of phosphoric acid, of which 270,000 tonnes would be for export with the remainder to be employed in the making of diammonium phosphate (DAP) fertiliser.

Investment in the chemical and fertiliser sectors in 1980 fell sharply, from \$107m in 1979 to only \$44m. This was largely due to the fact that \$90m of the 1979 total comprised the final tranche of the SAEPA project. Since Tunisia is intent on maintaining the percentage of phosphate rock processed locally at around 60 per cent, significant new investment in plant can be expected during the coming decade. The government is to make an effort to attract even more Arab financial participation in the vital sector of the national economy.

Yet another promising area for the expansion of Tunisia's phosphate mining industry — albeit in the medium term — is uranium derived from phosphoric acid. Made from marine phosphates, like those in Tunisia, phosphoric acid commonly contains uranium at a concentration of between 0.032 and 0.042 per cent, 90 per cent of which can eventually be recovered. Previously the cost of recovery was prohibitive, but improved technology and a fairly favourable outlook for uranium prices in coming decades has changed this.

French companies have been particularly interested in Tunisia's uranium-from-phosphoric acid potential. Uranium-PUK, the nuclear energy subsidiary of Pechiney-Ugine-Kuhlmann (PUK), has been making a feasibility study along with another French firm, Gardiner, for the state-controlled company, Groupe Chimique Tunisien (GCT).

According to GCT's Ezzedine Jemaa, Tunisian phosphates have been tested in Gardiner's experimental plant in Florida. Since Tunisian phosphates contain three to four times less uranium than Moroccan or Jordanian deposits, the projected Tunisian plant will be obliged to use the strong OPFA solvent. Tunisian officials are keen to get the scheme off the ground as quickly as possible.

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19 Feb. 1981



